National Integration & Other Essays

M. M. Sharif

Institute of Islamic Culture

This, the fourth volume of Professor M. M. Sharif's Collected Papers, comprises of papers written by him at different times since the establishment of Pakistan. In these papers, the learned Professor touches upon some of the very important problems facing the nation and offers their workable solution.

COLLECTED PAPERS—IV

National Integration and Other Essays

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Preface

THESE papers were written by me at different times since the establishment of Pakistan.

The first paper consists of the English rendering of one of my Urdu talks on the Radio. I firmly believe that to keep our women mentally healthy Family Laws have to be carefully revised. It should be seen that women no longer remain victims of tyranny. The paper entitled "We and Our Psychology" is an address delivered by me as President of the Psychology Section at the Hyderabad Session of the Pakistan Science Conference; the one on "National Integration" has been written only recently.

M. M. SHARIF

Lahore
January 1, 1965

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One

Melancholia*

LET us begin our study of melancholia with a case history. Mrs. X, a lady of about thirty, was the wife of a well-to-do young man who had received his education in Europe and she was the mother of two children. She had been brought up in purdah in a rather conservative home. Before her marriage she had moved among a large circle of friends and had lived mostly with her mother for whom her love was very deep. She had been fond of books, clothes and all the good things of life, and, being the eldest child of the family, had been somewhat spoilt and headstrong.

After her marriage, her husband thought of modernising his family life. As his wife's observance of purdah was an obstacle in his way, he tried to persuade her to give it up. She resisted. When he failed in his persuasion, he engaged an Anglo-Indian governess to look after his children and to keep the house to his liking. He was a man of an irritable temperament and was rather taxing in his ways.

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* A radio talk.

Mrs. X did not like her children and her household to be entrusted to another woman. Now she did what she could not be persuaded to do before. She gave up the purdah, started going out to mixed parties, receiving and entertaining guests, doing her shopping, looking after the household and attending to everything that she thought would please her husband. But not being used to these new ways, even now she could not do things to his satisfaction. This created in her an inward sense of frustration and a strong resentment against his attitude.

While her mind was undergoing this change, her mother who lived in a distant province fell ill. She wanted to leave for her mother's place immediately, but her husband could not leave his work for some time. Her departure was, therefore, delayed. He tried to console her by suggesting that mother would soon get well, that no news was good news, that they would soon be able to get away and see her and so on and so forth. Still most of her time passed in anxiety. A few days later she got the sad news of the lady's death. She went by the first train to her parental home, but she reached there after her burial. She thought that her dear mother had died of bad nursing. Had her husband allowed her to go alone or had he accompanied her, she could have reached her mother's bedside in time to nurse her and save her. He was responsible for her death. She hated

him for killing her.

A few days after her return from her mother's place, she suspected that her husband was too intimate with the governess. Soon after she fell a victim to insanity and developed the symptoms I am just going to mention.

First, she became irritable, restless and defiant. On the slightest excuse she burst into wild temper. She beat her husband, threw cups and spoons on the nurse and broke all the windows of the house. She made a vehement demand for divorce from her husband and for that she appealed to all her friends. She argued her case with remarkable plausibility. She talked incessantly, walked up and down at a quick pace for hours and spent most of the time out of doors, buying trinkets and such things as locks, knives, purses, beads and books by the hundreds, and distributed them lavishly among friends. At meal times she ate like a glutton for hours. Being so active day and night, she lost her sleep. But she looked none the worse for all her excessive output of energy, gluttony and sleeplessness. She refused to submit to medical treatment, for she thought she was perfectly well and nothing was wrong with her.

This condition lasted for about six months and then it was followed by two years of extreme depression. Now she would shut herself up in her room for days, would not utter a word for weeks and would refuse to stir out of the house for

months. She lost all interest in life and blamed herself for making her husband's life miserable. She was overwhelmed by a sense of intense remorse and deep sorrow and always cursed herself for being an unpardonable sinner.

The cycle of these two opposite states of Mrs. X's mind had already made two rounds when she was taken abroad for treatment.

Now the first of these states is what is called mania and the second is what is known as melancholia. The mental disorder which expresses itself in these two opposite forms, mania and melancholia, is really an extreme form of a natural reaction to environment. A normal individual's life is not a straight line, having no ups and downs. His moods change. Sometimes he feels happy, bright, buoyant, active and strong to face difficulties; sometimes he is pessimistic, gloomy, depressed and downcast. So his life may rather be represented by a wavy line than a straight line—its waves symbolising the swings of his moods and their influence on action. When these swings are within certain limits, the individual is regarded as normal, but when they are extreme and too rapid, he is said to be abnormal. The state of the upward swing is then called mania and the downward movement is known as melancholia.

Mania is marked by hilarity, exaltation, good humour, strong reactions, excessive irritability and abnormal activity such as running about, dancing,

waving of arms and so on. The symptoms of melancholia are just the reverse of the manic symptoms. The patient is gloomy, depressed, and slow in thought and action.

Mania and melancholia were formerly regarded as too distinct mental disorders. But nowadays they are taken to be two aspects of the same disease. This disease is called cyclothymia or manic depression. It is called manic depression because it has two phases: (1) mania and (2) depression or melancholia. The second name, cyclothymia, is given to it because mania and melancholia usually appear in a cycle as in Mrs. X's case. A period of mania is followed by a period of melancholia, which again is followed by a spell of mania and so on. But this is not an absolute law. Sometimes the symptoms of mania become pronounced, but those of melancholia remain dormant. Sometimes just the opposite happens: the symptoms of melancholia become pronounced and those of mania remain dormant. In the former cases mania follows just a normal state and alternates with it, and the patient is said to be suffering from pure mania. In the latter case melancholia follows a normal state and alternates with it, and the patient is supposed to be suffering from pure melancholia. For a period he remains quite normal and then for a period he becomes melancholic. In some cases there is an interval of normality between mania and melancholia.

Each change from mania to melancholia or *vice versa* is intervened by a normal period. Again, in some other cases the patient passes from normal stage to a manic or melancholic period twice or even three times before he swings to the opposite state. Sometimes one comes across a peculiar mixture of the two states. It is so in the case of what is called the agitated melancholia. Depression in such cases is accompanied by excitement which is one of the several marks of mania.

In spite of these deviations, it is generally true that melancholia never comes alone. It is always preceded by a state of implicit or explicit mania and in its most general form it always alternates with explicit mania. Thus the first thing we notice about Mrs. X's case is that she suffered from cyclothymia or manic depression of the common type.

There are three stages of melancholia as there are three stages of mania. In the first and mildest stage the patient is sorrowful and is always ready to explain some cause of his trouble. Often there is no real cause and he invents one. Sometimes he is dejected and downhearted. Sometimes he cries. He is slow in answering questions and is disinclined to make an effort of any kind. He will not do work of any sort and will have a gloomy view of life and particularly of himself. He will often blame himself of being a miserable sinner and a

wretched and useless creature. He will imagine all sorts of troubles, all the time convinced that they are real. He may also suffer from sleeplessness.

The second stage is of acute melancholia. Now, depression is more pronounced and there is increased slowness in response to inquiries. Sometimes the answer to a question comes after two minutes. But the answer is not purposely delayed. It seems that the patient actually takes a long time to understand a simple question.

The third stage is that of depressed stupor. The patient is completely unconscious of his surroundings and often refuses to take food. He is forcibly fed or else he starves himself to death. He cannot be made to speak at all. Indeed there is complete lack of responsiveness.

If we compare Mrs. X's condition with a patient in each of these stages, we find that her trouble had not yet gone beyond the first stage.

Now let us try to find out the reasons why Mrs. X developed this trouble.

It usually happens that when an average man's natural impulses cannot have their free expression in overt action, they get pushed below into the unconscious. The expression of these pent-up impulses in normal reactions being checked, they find expression in abnormal ways.

This happens to those who have a normal share of impulses. But in the course of evolution

some individuals and families come to possess a larger share of them. These are the individuals and families that are usually called gifted. They abound in genius. But when the impulsive energies of a gifted individual fail to get an outlet in action, they express themselves in some definite forms of insanity, of which manic depression is one. As inquiries showed Mrs. X belonged to a gifted family, and therefore under unfavourable circumstances she was likely to develop one of these specific mental troubles.

But why did she develop mania and melancholia rather than some of the other mental diseases to which the gifted are liable. This can be explained by the fact that she belonged to a class of persons who are prone to this more than to any other mental disorder. Such are those whose thoughts, interests and actions do not centre round themselves, but round other persons and things, who in the face of unpleasant situations do not run away from them but try to change them, who do not shrink from difficulties but overcome them by personal efforts, who go their own way and do not care what others think about them, whose nature is not inward-looking, but outward-going. These persons are called extroverts. Mrs. X possessed all the characteristics of an extrovert. Thus, her family tendency combined with her personal traits made her a likely person to develop mania and melancholia

or manic depression. But neither one's belonging to a gifted family nor one's being an extrovert can be the cause of one's developing a mental disease. These simply predispose a person for a certain type of mental disorder. All those who suffer from mania and melancholia are gifted with strong impulses and are extroverts, but all those who have these characteristics do not develop these symptoms. Most of them are indeed normal. The manic and melancholic symptoms develop under certain conditions which may or may not arise. These conditions are fulfilled when there is a strong check to the full expression of one's impulses and desires. Mrs. X first strongly asserted her right to remain in purdah, though finally she had to give in; she desired to look after her children and her household, but the governess came in the way. She longed to be by the side of her ailing mother, but could not see even her dead body; she wanted her husband to be entirely her own, but she thought him to be no longer hers. When high dams are built to prevent the energies of our impulses and desires from flowing into their normal course, and they are not carefully directed into other channels, they gather force in the unconscious part of our minds and, when sufficiently strong, break open the flood-gates, rush out in great force as mental disorders and flood and devastate the open fields of conscious life.

The same happened in the case of Mrs. X. By nature she was a gifted person and an extrovert and therefore destined either to do great things or to become a Cycloid. When insurmountable difficulties prevented her desires from passing into overt action, these pent-up desires gathered force in the unconscious, and then with great strength rushed forth in manic surges as frantically appealing to and beating others, breaking objects, eating voraciously, talking unceasingly, buying things like a little boy at a toy-shop and so on and so forth.

This behaviour is very much like that of a child. The reason for this likeness is that the instinctive energies gathered in the unconscious of a patient like her are very strong, and so are the fresh energies of children. Besides, in either case the expression of these energies in action is more or less involuntary and when opposed become violent. This phenomenon of going back into childish ways is called regression. Thus when Mrs. X's wishes failed to find expression in action, they collected in the unconscious mind and, like those of children, involuntarily ran into violent reactions. But here the analogy ends. In children nature follows its normal course. When their activity ceases, they sleep. The case of the Cycloid is different. His excessive activity which may last for months is followed by a long period of melancholia, and he loses his sleep. Mrs. X's

first manic period extended over six months and her melancholic period over two years.

Why there is a cycle of mania and melancholia in manic depression may be explained in this way: When there is an encroachment on the normal man's preserves, or there are difficulties in his way, he takes normal rational steps in self-defence. In normal self-defence two tendencies of the self are active. These are the tendencies of self-assertion and submission, the tendency to conquer the situation and the tendency to recognise inferiority and submit to it. In moral waking life there is a balance between these too tendencies. They work together, each checking and moderating the influence of the other and neither allowing the other to take an extreme form. As the impulse at work is not over-active, reason is not clouded. One uses such weapons of defence as reason, persuasion, appeal to sympathy, sex appeal, concerted action and the like. In the manic depressive insanity this balance is upset in favour of one or the other of the two tendencies, external circumstances favouring the one or the other. Bad luck, bereavements, helplessness against obstacles may evoke the feeling of inferiority and lead to melancholia. On the other hand, the converse may happen and mania may be stirred first, as was the case with Mrs. X. Each tendency begins to function independently of the other. While one works freely in consciousness "with all

the brakes removed," the other gathers force in the unconscious, till it is strong enough to take its turn. There is thus established a seesaw between the two impulses, self-assertion and submission. When self-assertion is ascendant, the patient is manic, when submission takes the upper hand, he is melancholic, that is to say, he is weak, inactive, sorrowful, remorseful and self-reproaching and, if religious, he is afraid of retribution in future life. No wonder that Mrs. X showed all these symptoms of melancholia.

Now just a word about the treatment of melancholic patients. The disease is in almost all cases curable. Only three of these steps are needed : (1) While the attack is on, an attempt should be made to keep the patient in good humour. (2) Normal intervals between the attacks should be utilised to help the individual to adjust himself to circumstances in a better manner. And (3) during these intervals all efforts should be made to modify the conditions which preceded the previous attacks.

Mrs. X's case is only one of the alarmingly large cases of manic depression and similar mental diseases from which the women of our country are suffering. Unless their position *vis à vis* their husbands and their in-laws is improved, there is hardly any hope of mental health prevailing among them.

Two

We and Our Psychology*

WHETHER one is a foreigner or a native of our country one feels disgusted at the amount of literature that has, since the Partition, been poured into the columns of our newspapers, magazines and journals about the low standards of our moral life—about corruption, self-aggrandizement, intrigue, bribery and nepotism amongst leaders; profiteering, black-marketing and racketeering among industrialists and business men; and dishonesty, irresponsibility, flattery and slackness among the people at large.

Some think that Pakistan is an Islamic country and what is true of Pakistan today is equally true of all Islamic lands; and from this they conclude that there must be something fundamentally wrong with Islamic teaching or Islamic ideology which keeps the characters of its followers low in the moral scale. These people

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* Presidential address delivered in the Section on Education, Sociology and Psychology of the Pakistan Science Conference in its session held in January 1955.

ignore the fact that if there were something wrong with the Islamic way of life, the Islamic civilisation, like the Achaean and Teutonic cultures, would have been nipped in the bud or, like the Polynesian and Spartan cultures, would have been arrested and killed soon after its birth. It would not have risen in a short span of time to the status of one of the greatest civilisations of the world; would not have gained world leadership in almost all spheres of life; and, having gained its high standard of culture, would not have retained it for nearly six centuries before its fall gradually set in. Besides, they forget the fact that the non-Muslim population of the eastern half of Pakistan is equally infected with moral turpitude; and the further fact that after the Partition, the Indians, a large majority of whom are non-Muslims, have also not shown any high standards of social life.

The conditions that cause such unsocial behaviour as we see in our country today do not lie in the ideology of our people. One of these conditions is cosmic, another is rooted in the nature of human society itself, and yet another is socio-psychological and relates to individual groups at a certain stage in the course of their lives. Cosmically, the universe seems to consist of individual energy centres, be they electrons, atoms, molecules, stones, plants, animals, men or their groups. These energy centres are active and responsive to their surroundings. They act and

interact by attraction and repulsion. When these individuals or their groups collide with one another in the course of their activity, each becomes an obstacle to the others. Their movement is arrested, their energy accumulates, regresses and returns with added force to meet the obstacles. Thus they move in waves and waves are always characterised with ebb and flow. Thus, ups and downs are inherent in the very nature of things and nature is throughout rhythmic.

There is a similar ebb and flow in human affairs. History too, like nature, presents the same phenomenon of rhythmic movement. All cultural processes tend to exhibit a rhythmic undulating motion. Culture is life expressing itself in valuation and style. There are oscillations between classicism and romanticism, between conservatism and radicalism, between asceticism and libertarianism, between intuitionalism and rationalism, between orthodoxy and liberalism, between self-containedness and expansion. Such undulations occur in the lives of individuals as well as societies without any fixed span of life. There is a rhythm in the life of a group. A period of rise is followed by a period of breakdown and even disintegration. If the group is not subnormal, its breakdown is again followed by a period of stability and rise. This social rhythm is a specific case of the universal rhythm exhibited by nature as a whole. It is the universal cosmic rhythm

manifesting itself in the human situation.

Such being the nature of things, if Islam, which in its rise became one of the highest civilisations of the world, has been for some centuries at a low ebb, it is not a matter of surprise. It would have been so, if it were otherwise. Nor indeed would it be a matter of surprise if, having once fallen, it rises again. Cultural waves do not have only one crest. Egyptian culture rose several times, Chinese and Indian cultures have seen many peaks and are again on the rise. Like these cultures, Islam may also see several rises and falls.

Our present cultural fall and our low standards are, therefore, due to a basic cosmic principle which manifests itself both in nature and in history.

Let us go deeper into the question and ask ourselves—through what concrete causes does the cosmic principle work and what exactly are the phenomena which cause ebbing of the cultural waves? A close study of world cultures shows that chief among these phenomena is the phenomenon called retrogressive variation, that is to say, deterioration of hereditary qualities. This deterioration may be caused in the first place by group conflicts, for war between the various elements of a society, like war between the various elements of an individual's personality, is always very exhausting. Secondly, it may be due

to failure of succeeding generations to copy exactly the patterns set by the preceding ones. Imitation is the means by which cultural patterns are transmitted, but in the process there is always some loss in passing from one generation to another. Thirdly, hereditary deterioration may be due to changes in the physical and social environment. These changes in the physical and social environment may consist in increase of population, leading often to economic starvation; in new means of production, resulting in new class relationships, antagonisms and interests; and, lastly, in migration or conquest of a powerful people ousting or gradually undermining the energies of the native population.

In our case there has been no material geographical change during the last several hundred years; the population has not been alarmingly high, though the saturation point has been reached in East Pakistan; and there have been no migrations of stronger nations which could undermine our social foundations. But foreign conquests and consequent contacts with foreign rulers, group conflicts, and failure of succeeding generations to imitate the better qualities of the preceding ones have been the main causes of retrogressive variation in our society. When the energies of a society are at a low ebb due to deterioration of hereditary qualities, moral turpitude sets in and the qualities that stimulate

growth disappear.

One of these causes of our cultural fall, our contact with foreign rulers, is very significant. It is specially significant because it has created a special psychology of our people and this psychology is the root cause of the specific evils with a statement of which I began this paper.

A great deal of moral degradation had set in towards the end of the Mughal rule in India; retrogressive variation had already begun and yet the period showed examples of great leadership, heroism, and high character. It was at this stage that our last rulers gradually became masters of India. After the Mutiny their rule took the form of ruthless suppression. I do not blame them. Perhaps another nation's rule might have been worse. I am only stating facts. Though the whole population of India suffered from this suppression, the Musalmans were its chief victims, because the cause of the Mutiny was thought to be their embitterment over the end of the Mughal rule. Such was the form of the reprisals that a mere political whisper could lead a man to the gallows. Even poets had to resort to figurative language to express their pangs. Some leaders of men were hanged and many ran to out-of-the-way corners of the land, and remained there in disguise for decades. Life stopped to flow in normal channels. The highest post that a son of the soil could get was that of a sub-judge. Suppression led to

repression of all ambition. People began to feel inferiority in every walk of life, and, therefore, failed to muster strength to meet challenge or achieve goals by direct action, and thus they began to resort even for petty favours from displeased masters to devious means, such as espionage, flattery, abject servility, and false display of loyalty. When gradually repression welled up, it developed into the mental disease called inferiority complex. Members of the sister community who were less suspect were soon allowed to enter Government service, but, as they themselves suffered from inferiority complex, when in service, they became an additional machinery of suppression for their Muslim brethren, whose inferiority complex, therefore, became further intensified.

Inferiority complex is a mental disease both of individuals and societies. In both it relates to reaction to environmental stimuli. Most psychologists admit that in both men and animals there are some innate tendencies, propensities, instincts or drives, by whichever name you may call them. In the individual the ingoing currents of the nervous energy, appropriate to a propensity initiated by the stimuli, reach the brain centre by the sensory nerves and from there the outgoing nerves (motor nerves) carry the energy to the limb which reacts to the stimuli. Whenever the nervous energy has its course without let and

hindrance, we have direct reaction to the stimuli. But when the way is blocked by physical injury, self-control or environmental checks, the nervous energy goes into other associated nerves. In the same way as, to take Macdougall's example, when several taps are attached to a reservoir with limited water supply, water will flow only in those near the reservoir, but if these are blocked, it will begin to flow in those which are distantly attached to it.

Some of the reactions are involuntary, but others are voluntary. In the latter case, some sensation (external or internal) creates in us a drive to react in a certain way, e.g. the desire to fight in rage, sexual behaviour in love and running away and hiding in fear. When a desire is thwarted, direct action is forbidden and the wish is suppressed. These suppressed wishes do not die, but they are pressed down into the unconscious region of the mind, remain there in undiminished vigour and under favourable circumstances (e.g. when conscious self-control is loose as in sleep or exhaustion) they find an escape through the back door, i.e. through indirect reaction in substitute forms of behaviour. When the suppressed wishes become unconscious, they are called repressions. These repressions are caused by suppression.

The desire for power is an important tendency which, if frustrated, gets transformed into abnormal behaviour. One naturally desires the power

to have superiority over obstacles—to have the power to satisfy one's major cravings without let and hindrance. Personal incapacity, social drawback or oppression frustrates this desire for power. The natural expression of this desire is satisfaction of wants and cravings by self-assertion, anger, rage, effort, etc.

Frustration drives this desire for power into the unconscious and it becomes a repression. When it wells up there and forcefully expresses itself in wrong channels, it becomes a complex. Since this complex starts with a conscious feeling of inferiority to cope with obstacles in a direct way, it is called the inferiority complex.

The urge to superiority in the weak or inferior is, thus, the most important determinant of the inferiority complex. It expresses itself not in direct ways which are barred either by incapacity or oppression, but in indirect and abnormal ways of satisfying major cravings. Chief situations that provoke inferiority complex in individuals are: academic failures, poor grades; being poorly and incorrectly dressed; making a social error; being bossed over or snubbed; being criticised or corrected before others; being left out of clubs, parties, railway compartments, etc.; and failure in general.

Social conditions that stimulate inferiority complex in groups are various forms of oppression: social disability regarding property, i.e. having

no land, no houses, no gardens, no money, being hated and shunned or kept at a distance and segregated and lacking freedom of expression, movement and thought.

These abnormal ways of satisfaction or indirect reactions may take one of these forms:

(1) Inhibition may allow the effect of the stimulus to pass off without leading to any significant response and therefore without affecting the personality, e.g. at times of preoccupation. In group life this happens in the case of some stimuli in times of war.

(2) Inhibition may eliminate all apparent responsiveness of the organism and result in undue restrain and fatigue in the individual, causing various forms of neurasthenia, nervous troubles such as headache, backache, indigestion, etc. Some of the most common marks of nervous exhaustion are concealment, sadness and lethargy. But when depression grows more and more chronic, it takes the form of the mania of lying. Similarly, in societies, lying, concealment, deception, lack of frankness, habitual cheating, theft, putting on airs, are all indirect methods of achievement when direct achievement is impossible. Filth and lack of education are the expressions of the lethargy of depression in the repressed classes. Obstacles in the way of their education are too great for them to overcome. In course of time they cease to be even conscious of its need.

In extreme form inferiority complex leads the individual to the form of madness called schizophrenia. Similarly, inferiority complex among the classes of centuries of oppression is very much like schizophrenia in an individual. Their world becomes too small. As in the case of Indian "untouchables," it is confined to such professions as sweeping the streets or doing similar tasks to get their meagre loaf of bread. They completely lack self-respect, ambition, belief in the possibility of their rise and the pleasure of self-help ; are given to gambling, drinking, petty feuds, theft, showy extravagance, and loose marriage relations ; and show full acquiescence in their own miserable condition.

Severe exhaustion of energies leads the weak to submission. They submit to the command of others. Submission prolonged for centuries makes the repressed classes completely subservient to the will of the privileged classes. Such submission is technically called masochism. In spite of receiving injuries and insults, the repressed submit to the will of the suppressor. Women who are by nature physically weaker than men and who have suffered subjugation for thousands and thousands of years are a good example of masochistic satisfaction. The wives like being bossed over by strong-willed husbands rather than bossing over the weak and spineless ones. Men who have some incapacity (sexual) become submissive to their

wives and the role is interchanged. Here they become masochistic.

Gambling, bribery, black-marketing, racketeering, dinking, etc., in so far as they are easy ways of getting money or pleasure, are expressions of neurasthenic exhaustion and are, therefore, masochistic expressions. In extreme form masochism is taking pleasure in being subjected to sadistic injury.

(3) The third form of expression that inferiority complex takes is the establishment of a pseudo-superiority, i.e. dominance in devious ways, e.g. self-interest, self-aggrandizement, over-valuation of the self, exaggerated accounts of one's achievements, talking tall, talking loud, assuming airs, disparaging superiors, insolence, backbiting, showy extravagance, appearing superior by copying the superficial ways (which are easy to copy) of the superior.

Lacking capacity to attack, they attempt to lower their rivals in the estimation of others by fighting them with their tongue or pen in their absence. The same incapacity explains their criticism of others. The press of the repressed classes shows this symptom. The persons in question unconsciously try to compensate for their inferiorities in these various way.

This pseudo-superiority in its more advanced form is taking pleasure in inflicting insults and injury upon others. When the inferiority complex

takes this form, it is called sadism. The sexual sadist inflicts injury on the object of his love. Selfishness is an expression of sadism, for the selfish take pleasure in injuring the interests of others. They have, therefore, low morality.

Actually both masochism and sadism go together in the same persons. The same persons are masochistic in relation to their superiors and sadistic in relation to those inferior to them. Women subjected to cruelty by their mothers-in-law, show the same cruelty to their daughters-in-law Subordinate officers in a repressed society are masochistic towards their senior officers and sadistic towards those below them. Normal desire to wield power in the public servants is likely to become pathological, and that can lead to disastrous consequences. Since they are officers of a repressed class, being generally themselves repressed, they take all initiatives in their own hands and they rule rather than serve. Lack of initiative in their subordinate officers lowers their efficiency. They become masochistic. They wait for a word of command for every detail. On the other hand, they become sadistic towards the masses and thus lower their morale.

The neurasthenic elements of a repressed society are more masochistic, the hysteric elements more sadistic.

To sum up, inferiority complex in its earliest stages makes people moderately masochistic. The

vices they develop are submission, flattery, servility and display of loyalty. In its last stage, i.e. when a society having suffered centuries of slavery gets submerged into a bigger social group, its people become extremely masochistic. Their characteristics are gambling, drinking, filth, ignorance, sexual laxity, lowliness, resignation, subservience and utter lack of self-respect, ambition and hope. A group suffering from inferiority complex in its middling stages exhibits equally the symptoms of both sadism and masochism. Its masochistic vices are : deception, cheating, theft, black-marketing, sadness, lethargy, filth and lack of education ; and its sadistic vices are : selfishness, self-aggrandizement, over-valuation of others, disparaging superiors, insolence, backbiting and showy extravagance, seniors keeping down the juniors, juniors pulling down the seniors, concentration of initiative and power by deceit, deception and cruelty, and coloured accounts and unjust and carping criticism of preachers and speakers on the pulpit and the platform and writers in the press to cure in others the disease of which they themselves suffer.

We passed through the early stages of this group disease in the latter half of the nineteenth century. God forbid, we ever reach the last stage. Since the days of the great Sir Sayyid and his team of workers, there has appeared an upward turn in our social life. In all directions there have been

signs of revival. Thanks to the sublime teaching of our great spiritual leader, Iqbal, and the remarkable guidance of our foremost political leader, Jinnah, we have also achieved freedom from foreign domination.

But political freedom is not psychological freedom. Political charters can be given overnight, but such is not the case with the psychology of a people. A society which is passing through its early stages of revival is not immediately cured of its inferiority complex. On the contrary, masochistic symptoms remaining about the same, its sadistic symptoms increase. According to this law, in our emergent society sadism had to increase, but, as the Hindus, who had the monopoly of industry and trade and held most of the posts in the State, suddenly left the country in 1947, the chances for making easy money increased and consequently masochistic vices also increased. But as competition in each of these fields grows, these are bound to decrease. Increase of sadistic symptoms, far from being a reason for pessimism, is actually a sign of hope. Striving for pseudo-superiority being nearer to the direct expression of the will to power can be turned into social usefulness which indeed is a means to its cure.

In this paper I have attempted to show that the present vices of our society have been produced by an ultimate cosmic cause or divine will, which is immanent in nature, in the history of

the human race and in the lives of individual social groups, and our present vices are the symptoms of a mental disease that must appear when the social wave is at an ebb and even in the early stages of its rise. I close this paper with an optimistic note. There is no reason to be pessimistic about the future. Freedom from foreign rule we have achieved. Given a little more prosperity, a little more education, a little more internal freedom, a little more competition, we are likely to pass out of this stage of diseased social life and enter the stage of normal psychology of a vigorous people which may in course of time take us to the top of another cultural peak. Our steps may be faltering ; indeed, they must be faltering ; but let us always keep the summit in view with unclouded gaze. Within the cosmic framework our destiny is in our own hands. Cosmic laws provide chances for rise and fall and they determine what rise and fall signify, but whether we are allowed to rise or to fall mostly depends upon whether we desire to rise or to fall.

Three

Good Life and Citizenship*

BEFORE discussing the relation between good life and citizenship, let us be clear about the meanings of these two terms. What is citizenship in this particular context?

We do not mean by this word the position of an inhabitant of a city or town or even a member of a State, but an individual living in a social environment. The total environment of an individual consists of, first, his physical surroundings, air, sea and land, mountains, valleys, rivers, lakes, etc.; secondly, animal surroundings, i.e. living birds and beasts of all species; thirdly, works of art as paintings, architectural monuments, statues and the like; and, lastly, the social surroundings, i.e. the unit of habitation (village or city), the country, its government and institutions like the school, the church, the club and different types of associations. In speaking of good life in relation to citizenship we specifically

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*A paper read in the UNESCO East-West Party Meeting of Philosophers held at Canberra (Australia) in December 1957.

refer to the last kind of surroundings, the social surroundings, although in varying degrees the other three kinds are also implied.

Life has two directions, outward and inward—outwardly, it is directed to its environment, inwardly, to its own inner self. It is dynamic and grows both in itself and in its adaptation to and capture and control of the environment. A newly-born child receives a jumble of sensations to some of which he unconsciously or consciously reacts. These stimuli are his whole environment, the whole world in which he lives. As he advances in age the environment grows for him into a vast world. Out of all things that make this vast world his fellow beings are the most important. This importance he begins to realise from the very outset. He is not a mere "I". In the very start his conscious relation with the environment is that of "I and thou." He gradually develops consciousness of the relationships between "we" and "they." His mother and other relations who help him in his development and domestic animals attached to the family form the whole of his society. Living in this society is the lowest limit of his citizenship, the highest being citizenship of the world at large. The "I" and "thou" are so closely related that the consciousness of the one is impossible without the consciousness of the other. The individual's self-fulfilment is intrinsically linked with the fulfilment of others.

Social environment, social organisation or social structure may be roughly defined as "the more or less permanent framework of relationships between members of the community which manifests itself in an orderly group life with reciprocal rights and duties, privileges and obligations of members," and is characterised by behavioural patterns by which the individuals generally judge one another and through which they achieve their personal and social goals. Briefly stated, citizenship means living in close relationship to the group.

(2) If this is the meaning of citizenship, what exactly is meant by good life?

There are different ways of living as a member of a social group, but in which of these ways of living a life spent would be described as good life? What are the characteristics which we ascribe to life when we call it good? This is our second question.

This question can be asked in connection with any stage of life, infancy, childhood, youth, old age. I shall confine myself only to the life of an adult and ask: when can the life of an adult living in society be called good?

Let us first be clear about the term "good" as used in the phrase "good life." Sir David Ross in his *Foundations of Ethics* (pp. 355 ff.) makes a distinction between the attributive and predicative use of the word "good." According to him, when we

use it attributively, the root idea expressed by good is that of success or efficiency. A "good knife" is essentially one that can be successfully used in cutting. He says, when the word is predicatively used, it may mean, as with the Hedonists, serving as a means to pleasure, or, as with Mr. Perry, serving some human interest; or it may be used in the sense of G. E. Moore's absolute and intrinsic good, that is, a good containing absolutely no element of evil but being on the whole an intrinsic good. I think the word "good" if connected with life is used in none of the first three senses.

When the word is used in connection with life predicatively in the first sense, it is never used to signify *mere means* to pleasure. To use it so would imply that pleasure is an end outside life. Although the utilitarians' loose formulation of their position implied this, they never meant this. Life does often use itself as a means, but it does so for the realisation of its own ends, which at every stage of their realisation characterise its own self-fulfilment within a social environment. Utilitarian hedonism correctly interpreted means that pleasure as the sole moral end is an element within life and good life is a life that has it in abundance and is always trying to find means to increase it further. But this position, apart from being psychologically wrong, makes the concept of good life too narrow.

Nor does good life mean a life that serves some human interests, for there are many things which are known to be the objects of interest to many people and yet are unhesitatingly described as bad. Besides, there are many things which we describe as good irrespective of A, B or C's interest in them. And if by human interests is meant the basic interests of humanity as a whole, then these are all within life itself and are the same as the universal human goods-in-themselves.

But is good life a life which is intrinsically and absolutely good, that is to say, good through and through? No, not so, for the simple reason that man is a finite being, having all kinds of limitations, and to expect the life of such a being to be good through and through is to expect the impossible. A life may be absolutely free from vice, and yet may be full of the feeling of pain for the misery of others, and pain seems to be definitely an evil in itself.

What we actually mean by good life is a life which is a mixed intrinsic good, which has both good and evil, but is on the whole good-in-itself. Good life is not, however, static. It is essentially dynamic, and is, therefore, characterised by a constant endeavour to reduce its evil elements to the minimum and increase its good elements to the maximum with a view to approximating as much as possible to the ideal good, the intrinsic and absolute good, the good through and through.

Since we must not overlook the social side of good life we must further add that it consists in the mutual taking in and giving out of goods or values in a social whole. Good life does not only gather values for itself, but also spreads them far and wide in its human surroundings.

If this is what is meant by good life, then there is no justification for Sir David Ross' distinction between the adjectival and predicative use of good. When the word "good" is used in connection with life, it makes no difference whether we say, "The man who leads a *good* life maximises value for himself and others," or say, "The life of a man who maximises, etc., is *good*." The same meanings are actually conveyed in both cases.

(3) But what exactly are these values or goods-in-themselves which are the ingredients of good life? Values as means live on reflected glory. They are values only in so far as they advance intrinsic values. But are there any intrinsic values at all?

According to one view, there are no such values. All values are subjective. At one time it was said there is nothing good or bad, but only thinking makes it so; now it is said only feelings make it so. In 1956 a UNESCO round-table discussion was held in U.S.A. in which I had the privilege to participate. Several of the participants held the above view. "More nonsense has been written regarding values," quoted one, "than any

other subject in philosophy." "Values," said another, "are as variable as individuals, making it impossible to define human values *en masse.*" A third questioned the existence of any universal values because of the differences in men's goals and the means of their realisation.

This view is so utterly false that no comment is needed. There is hardly a treatise on Ethics which does not offer its rebuttal.

There is, however, another view which is more commonly held now-a-days and which was also propounded by some participants in the discussion. According to this view, value is determined by sociological conditions. Life and its interests and ideals are conditioned by the socio-moral patterns which change from age to age. They change because of their intimate relations to the social milieu. Different economic, political and social environments determine values. "Those values which are deemed as basic at a given moment in history may not be considered so at another." Problems arising from changes in the interrelations in the group lead to changes in moral conceptions.

This hypothesis has the merit of rescuing human values from the whims of individuals and regarding them as stable for at least a period of history or a stage of social development or a group of individuals.

It is true that all values do not arise in human

consciousness at the same time and at one time in the same degree. Their appearance and the degree of their operation differ not only from age to age but also from individual to individual and from time to time in the life of the same individual.

Again, at some period of history certain values are specially emphasised because in the preceding periods they had been more or less ignored or because they have only recently entered in their fullness in social consciousness and there still have the glow of novelty, as reason in Greek society, self-control in Buddhism, love in Christianity, justice in Islam and power over nature in the modern West. Besides, the means to realise the same end may be different in different circumstances for the same individual, for different individuals and even for groups at different stages of their development, and all means are for the time being looked upon as ends, and when they are so looked upon they are often confused with ultimate ends or values-in-themselves. These facts give the false impression that even *ultimate* ends are different in different circumstances for the same individual as well as for different individuals, lending the appearance of plausibility to the view I have summarily dismissed or that they differ from age to age and society to society, lending the appearance of plausibility to the view we are considering now. This view receives its mask of plausibility also from another source

which I consider in the next paragraph.

As Professor Macbeath has shown in his *Experiments in Living*, human values as ends-in-themselves may be understood in two different ways, values as formal ideals and the same values as operative ideals. As *formal ideals* they are rooted in human nature and are the same for the whole of humanity. They are values-in-themselves in the true sense of the word. But these values-in-themselves as *operative ideals* in different individuals and societies only approximate to the formal ideals and their approximation to them depends on the stage of development or the degree of enlightenment that individuals and societies have reached and on the requirements of the times. They are essentially partial and imperfect in varying degrees. The formal ideals are the standards by which the operative ideals and the means to them are to be tested. These are the ideals of mankind as a whole and operative ideals are the same ideals as actually apprehended and pursued by different societies and different individuals. The operative ideals are embodied in the traditions, customs, rituals, taboos, particular ends, rules, institutions and ways of life and are only partial embodiments of the system of formal ends-in-themselves. In primitive societies they are crude manifestations of the immanent formal ideals, but as these societies advance, they grow in purity, refinement and comprehensiveness and

approximate more and more closely to those ideals.

The theory that makes value subjective and individualistic keeps only the operative ideals of the *individuals* and the theory that regards them different for different societies at different periods of history keeps only the operative ideals of *societies* in view, and both completely ignore the formal ideals, the ideals which are goods-in-themselves, goods through and through, and are the same for all men and all societies.

Now, what are these formal ideals or goods or values through and through? Here I state with some modifications what I said in the round-table conference mentioned before. The most fundamental of the formal ideals is life itself which forms the base for all other values. Others are good-will, i.e. direction and devotion of the self to other goods-in-themselves, its constant endeavour to achieve them for itself and others, exemplary conduct, and character as embodied in developed personalities, social service, recognition and performance of duty, and self-regulation; love, as expressed in friendship, kinship, neighbourliness, benevolence and self-sacrifice; justice expressing itself in equality of consideration, liberty, opportunity and security through public opinion, law and the courts of law; beauty expressed in taste, appreciation of nature and aesthetic activity as embodied in the arts; truth

as expressed in wisdom and knowledge spread through social intercourse, schools, libraries, research institutes and universities; happiness expressed in uninterrupted pursuits, discovery, invention, relief from pain and peace. Freedom which takes such forms as national freedom, personal liberty, i.e. freedom of thought, worship, belief, vote, expression, and socially desirable action; power that expresses itself, internally, by self-control, resolution, initiative, courage, perseverance, zest and drive and, externally, in strength to destroy evil and to conquer nature for the benefit of man; health which is adequate functioning of both body and mind; and, lastly, unity expressing itself, internally, in the harmony of thought, passion and action, of action and profession, and integration of the self as a whole, and, externally, in social organisation and group solidarity.

Some modes in which justice expresses itself are considered by mankind as obligatory for everyone and, therefore, as everyone's duties. These are tolerance, reparation for one's own previous wrongful acts, gratitude for services done by others, non-maleficence, non-interference in the affairs of others and fulfilment of explicit or implicit promises and mutual agreements.

These values-in-themselves are consciously, half-consciously or even unconsciously desired and in right ways or wrong ways pursued by most

individuals in every society. They are the ethical heritage of mankind.

There are certain instrumental values which are generally desired as means to the ends-in-themselves. These are food, clothes and shelter; hospitality, honesty, efficiency and mutual trust; private property, social security and public services in the fields of health, education, communication, defence, etc.

There are some second-level means-values which appear in different social groups owing to their cultural differences either as special features or with special emphasis. For example, the peculiar means-values of the Western culture of today are wealth, industrialisation, mechanisation, free enterprise, high standard of living, recreation, material comfort, equality of sexes and pragmatic adjustments. The Asians, on the other hand, emphasise the family, the home, simplicity of life, contentment and sex morality.

These lists do not claim finality, but it seems to me that they cover most of what humanity regards as goods-in-themselves, duties and the means known by experience to lead to the goods-in-themselves.

The goods-in-themselves are so closely interrelated and interdependent that each can become a means for the realisation of others. The value of means is determined solely by the end they serve, but when the goods-in-themselves are used

as means, they draw light from the ends they serve and also shine in their own glory.

Values and particularly duties sometimes seem to conflict in particular situations in the world which is a mixture of good and evil. But where they do so, the lesser of them have to be sacrificed for the sake of the greater of them. Speaking the truth has to be sacrificed on some rare occasions, when, for example, it endangers the life of a great man on sick bed, or a great army fighting for a cause which is just.

(4) Now, having attempted to clear the significance of good life and citizenship, and the values which good life achieves, let us study more closely the life of a citizen which can be regarded as good.

The common criterion of good life is not the formal system of ideals or ends-in-themselves. It is the *operative* ideals—the ethical heritage of a *social group*—by reference to which the goodness of the life of individual members of a social group is generally judged. The life of those members of a social group is as a rule said to be good who follow the traditions, taboos, customs, rules and laws of that group.

It is conformity or reaction to institutions and rules and codes of morality and interrelations of men and their operative ideals in a given social pattern from which a man's moral life takes shape and all his rights and duties and values related to

them are drawn. And it consists in following his chief moral interests, and discharging the duties of his vocation, duties towards parents, children, neighbours, country and humanity at large, and his constant effort to achieve more and more values for himself and the largest number of people, even domestic animals, within his social milieu.

But since the operative ideals are themselves to be tested by reference to goods-in-themselves, exceptional individuals like prophets, social reformers and specially enlightened men with a better grasp of formal ends, in their loyalty to these ultimate ends, can resist the operative ends and endeavour to change them in order to take their society to a further stage of development. In fact, it becomes their duty to do so, for their judgment goes against the existing order of things and their sense of justice demands that this order should be replaced by the better one which they envisage. These are the ideal men whose lives possess goodness in the superlative. When such men appear it becomes the duty of all who hear their call to pay serious attention to that call.

But both the lives of individuals and groups are at best only mixed goods and some elements of evil in them can always be easily apprehended. Even the ordinary citizens, while they must obey the rules and laws prevalent in their social group for the time being, have a right to criticise them

—a right which they must be bold enough to exercise by vote and expression. While following the operative ideals, they must fight for approximation to the formal ideals. The moral value of a citizen's life is by no means decreased by this action. On the other hand, it is enhanced by it. This position, however, allows no criticism and fighting for low selfish ends in which the lives of many politicians are spent. These lives are not only not good ; they are positively bad.

The moral ideal of a citizen is not a distant goal to be realised at some future date. It is an ideal not outside life, but within it, related as it is to its human surroundings. It is indeed a way of life (affecting others as well) which is realised in every act that is right. A man's good life consists in following his chief moral interests and in his doing of each act they are being followed.

Moral value of life as inwardly considered consists in the enrichment of personality which again consists largely in the excellence of character, vastness of knowledge, extensions and depth of emotional experience and greatness of the power of the will to regulate passions and emotions, to exercise self-control and to make right decisions and act upon them. It may also include hope, faith, prayer and meditation. In our judgment of good life, however, more emphasis is laid on the excellence of character than on any other aspect of life, and this is so because all

actions done in the pursuit of values flow from it. It is their veritable fountain-head. In character the quality of benevolence is given the greatest emphasis because the pursuit of value for others is much more difficult and gives a much richer yield than their pursuit for oneself alone. But this inward development of life is not possible without its outward development, i.e. without its contribution to the increase of value in the lives of other human beings.

It may be asked : what about the lives of those saints and hermits who spend their whole time in contemplation in monasteries and religious sanctuaries? Will they be regarded as good when judged by the criterion set above ? They will be bad, very bad, if psychological morbidity sets in and they will be bad if spent wholly in selfish pursuits of even with such a high motive as union with God, without reference to society, as for example, the lives of devout *advaits*. In fact, such people cannot be considered citizens at all and their lives may be favourably judged in some other context, but certainly not as the lives of citizens which they cease to be.

But there is one sense in which the life cut off from society and spent in contemplation is of high moral value. As we are finite our power to realise all our ends simultaneously is limited. Without undergoing a rigorous discipline in a period of comparative retirement from the life

around—may that be in a mystic's cave, a scientist's laboratory, a technician's workshop, an artist's studio or a scholar's den—no great achievement is possible. A period of life has to be set apart for inward development, deep experience of reality and control of passions. Hence a saint's devoting a period of his life to contemplation in relative isolation is necessary and a life that includes such a period is morally most desirable. But this period must be only a period of preparation for a fuller life to be led as a citizen in the midst and for the betterment of one's fellow-men. The lives of Jesus, Buddha, Muhammad and all those great souls that have illumined the world with their moral or intellectual light amply illustrate this withdrawal from and return to the social milieu.

Of course, whole lives pursuing a single value intensively would also be morally valuable if along with that pursuit social obligations are also duly met.

To sum up, after clearing the meaning of the terms "citizen" and "good life," I have, in these pages, raised the following questions:

(1) What is the relation of good life to (*i*) the social milieu, (*ii*) individual values, (*iii*) group values, (*iv*) values as means, (*v*) intrinsic values, and (*vi*) absolute values?

(2) What is the criterion of good life?

(3) What is the moral value of the life of (*i*)

an exceptional leader of men, such as a prophet, (*ii*) a hermit, (*iii*) a citizen who observes social customs and rules, but speaks and votes against them, and (*iv*) a citizen who pursues one value intensively but meets all his social obligations.

I have given brief answers to these questions to start discussion and have incidentally made a few observations about the subjectivistic, sociological, hedonistic and "human interest" hypotheses of moral life. Of course, I have treated the whole subject within the framework of my own ethical views.

There are a few more questions which I have left out for a separate treatment. These are :

(1) To what extent have social sanctions a wholesome or ill effect on good life ?

(2) Does the concept of duty cover more than the field of justice ?

(3) Does benevolence or maximisation of goods for others enter into good life as a duty or merely as a good act ?

(4) Does prudence or maximisation of goods for oneself enter into good life as a duty or merely as a good act or not even that ?

(5) What is the relation between good life and the supreme ideal of religion—God ?

Four

Conditions of Social Growth*

Introductory

WHEN William James compared consciousness to a stream, he emphasised the dynamic nature of the mind. But not only mind, nor indeed only life, but the whole of reality is dynamic. Everything is essentially an energy-centre—a force. Rest means only an equilibrium of forces; peace only their harmony. Nations, cultures and civilisations cannot always remain the same. If they live, they rise or fall. As Muslims we have declined for more than half a millennium, as Indians, nearly two centuries. But thanks to the efforts of the great Sayyid and his band of workers and the Indian National Congress, the advent of the twentieth century saw the beginning of a revival in India. Under the spiritual leadership of 'Allamah Iqbal, the political leadership of Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the politico-religious leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, this

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Presidential address delivered at the 1955-56 Session of the Pakistan Philosophical Congress.

revival gave birth to two independent nations. Being cut off from the main current of Indian life, Pakistan has now to think how to determine her future course. We are a cultural wave, rising out of the commingling waters of two oceanic waves—two gigantic civilisations, Islamic and Indian. Unless we choose simply to exist and end like a ripple on the surface of a stagnant pool, we must rise to another peak, if not unprecedented, at least equal in height to those to which our parent cultures have risen before.

But to see a cultural rise, it is best to know first the laws that lead to cultural rise. It is this idea that has led me to choose "Conditions of Social Growth" as the subject of this paper.

As the subject is vast and the space at my disposal limited, I shall confine my observations only to five conditions of growth: successful response to challenge, creativeness, knowledge, moral character and planning.

Challenge

Growth is a *movement* from one condition to a better one. Its first law, therefore, must be a specific case of the universal law of all movement. That universal law is that all movement takes place by response to the challenges offered by the environment. All energy-centres, be they electrons, atoms, stones, plants, animals, men or their groups, are active and responsive to their surroundings.

They act and interact by attraction and repulsion. When these individuals in the course of their activity collide with one another, each becomes an obstacle for the other. By these obstructions, their movement is arrested, their energy regresses, accumulates and returns with added force to meet the challenge. Again and again, this process of challenge, regression and accumulation of energy and return with gathered force takes place. Thus all movement is like the movement of a wave—a chain of responses to successive challenges.

Growth is not a chain of mere responses to challenges but a chain of *successful* responses to successive challenges. In the social sphere growth is achieved when, to use Toynbee's words, "a minority or a whole society replies to a challenge by a response which not only answers that challenge but also exposes the respondent to a fresh challenge which demands a further response."

The challenges from the victorious responses, to which different cultures and civilisations arise, need not be the same for all peoples. They may be from the geographical environment, i.e. physical and climatic environment, or from human environment, or both.

Let us consider the challenge of the geographical environment first. It may consist of desiccation, as in the case of the Egyptian and Sumeric peoples ; of marshes and floods as for the Chinese ; of bleak climate, bad soil, and tropical heat as for

the Andeans; of sea as for the Minos and the Greeks ; of luxuriance of the tropical forests and heat as for the Mayans and the Indians ; of deserts and heat as for the Syrians and the Arabs ; or of forests, rain, snow and frost as for the Europeans. Success of peoples in meeting these challenges created the great civilisations that bear their names : Egyptian, Sumeric, Chinese, Mayan, Minoan, Hellenic, Indian, Syrian, Arab, and Western. Conquest of similar challenges is partly responsible for the greatness of individual nations like Great Britain, North America, Holland, the U.S.S.R. and Japan.

The geographical challenges, however, may be too severe for a society to stimulate growth beyond a certain limit. The challenge of the sea for the Polynesians, of the Arctic climate for the Eskimos, and of the Steppe for the Nomads was beyond human power of effective response with the result that the first succumbed to the severity of the challenge and the other two have remained arrested to this day. Thus, from the history of great civilisations and nations we discover the law that geographical challenges, not too severe for successful endeavour, stimulate responses to conquer them.

Extreme climate, floods, lack of iron and coal, waterlogging, land corrosion, and difficult soil of certain parts are for Pakistan blessings in disguise. They illustrate the truth that what appears to be

evil is ultimately for the good of man. Revival and revitalisation of our people will largely depend on these apparent handicaps but real assets for healthy growth. Without them life will be too easy and we shall be lulled to sleep. Pleasure of life and progress in culture consist in boldly facing such difficulties and gaining victory over them.

But peoples and nations are open not only to challenges of the geographical environment but also to those of the human environment. But here too the same law holds. Sudden blows from the outside powers, even when they inflict crushing defeats, unless too often repeated, unify a people and rouse them to activity, as was the case with Rome after the defeat of Allia; with the entire Muslim world after the Crusades; with the Western world after the constant pressure of the Moors in Spain and the Turks in the Balkans; with the Turkish Empire after the invasion by Timur; with Germany after the Napoleonic wars; and with Germany and Turkey after the World War I. The Sumerians had harder geographical conditions and greater dangers from abroad than the Egyptians. For that reason their contribution to civilisation was far greater than that of the Egyptians.

The same holds in the case of internal human pressure. The challenge of one party always arouses response in another to meet that challenge

and that way each vitalises the other. Parties in a democracy are a constant challenge to one another and a constant cause of development, and, therefore, have to be encouraged for the sake of inter-group vitalisation. One-party rule is opposed to progress. Internal challenges, if beyond the optimum degree of severity, are liable to destroy unity. To remedy that, a constant external challenge is a great asset for a nation. A strong India is not a danger to Pakistan, nor is a strong Pakistan a menace to India. The strength of these countries will set up a chain reaction which will constantly energise and internally unify these two countries and help them in their process of growth. Indian challenge will strengthen Pakistan and Pakistani challenge will strengthen India. We should, therefore, regard strong neighbours as national assets rather than national handicaps.

Thus we see that without physical, climatic and political (internal and external) challenges no nation can rise to any great height of culture and civilisation. Cultures and cvilisations have arisen because people have successfully faced such challenges. Without them they could never be great. The absence of these challenges is a message of death, their presence a message of hope, provided, of course, they are not too severe for effective response.

Challenges arouse responses, but no response is aroused in a society the vitality of which is too

low. Such a society is ultimately destroyed for lack of response. If misfortune overtakes it, it is entirely its own fault, not of the powers beyond it, call them natural or Divine.

Creativeness

The second condition of a society's progress is creativeness of its special men, its creative geniuses. Bergson defines the mystics as privileged souls who have felt themselves related to all souls and have addressed themselves to humanity in general in an "*elan* of love" and "whose desire it is . . . to see the imprint of it upon the whole of mankind." What he says of the mystic is true of every genius.

There is a rhythm inherent within the soul of a prophet or a mystic. At first he lives his normal life. Then he retires within himself and undergoes a soul-illuminating discipline till he gets a moment of ecstasy—a moment which, as Ibn Khaldun says, "comes and goes as swiftly as the flicker of an eyelid"—in which he receives an illumination, message or inspiration. In the third stage of his spiritual progress he returns to himself to live a transformed life. There is a similar rhythm in his relation to society. He first lives his normal life in the midst of his fellow men. Then there comes a period when he withdraws from society and his personality acquires its

creative powers and, thus transfigured, he returns to his social milieu with added spiritual force. The life of the philosopher-king which Plato describes in the analogy of the cave is marked by the same rhythm and the same rhythm of life characterises the personal and social lives of all great leaders of men in different fields of life. No creative individual and no creative minority can become creative without undergoing a rigorous discipline in a period of comparative retirement from life around —may that be in a mystic's cave, a scientist's laboratory, a technician's workshop, an artist's studio, or a scholar's den—and, thus acquiring fresh power, joining that life again.

Such a rhythm marks even their daily lives. It is during these hours of recession, the hours of the night, that angels descend and bring messages to seeking minds. No such light comes to the masses of men, nor even to those chosen shufflers of files that habitually spend these precious hours in drinking, dancing, bridge or sleep.

Divine guidance or inspiration to lead people comes only to those who undergo discipline pertaining to their specific field of action and to none else. No leaders can lead a nation to progress unless they are creative, and they cannot be creative without such discipline. "Growth is the work of creative personalities," and is made possible by their acts of creation. These creative acts may be performed by one individual or many.

Even single individuals like the Prophet have shaken societies from their slumber and put them on the road to rapid growth.

But the creative element in a society, whether consisting of one personality or many, always forms a minority. It is this minority from which all streams of culture and civilisation flow.

The majority of each society is uncreative and always lags behind.

But a minority, however creative, cannot move forward without taking this majority along. To do so, as Toynbee has aptly said, their task is to make their fellows their "followers." This trick they can perform only in two ways : first, by inspiring them by their own achievements and kindling in them the fire of their own creative genius ; and, second, by bringing the innate human impulse of imitation into play and making them follow their own example. Men in early Islam were inspired by the message of the Qur'an and got drilled into new habits by following the Prophet's own example. No leaders of men can carry the masses along by coercion, ordering, teaching, preaching and propaganda. Coercion and ordering have just the opposite effect. Teaching, preaching and propaganda, if uninspiring, become nauseating. If inspiring, they are good, but not good enough. They can germinate in the minds of the rank and file only if they are supplemented by the good example set by the leaders themselves.

Every great politician is a centre of force in the stream of happenings. He has the eye that can view all possibilities of a situation and can choose the best. He is an educator, but he educates by example. As Spengler has put it, the sum of honour and duty, discipline and resolution is a thing not learnt from books, but awakened in the stream of living by a living example. The feelings of real leaders run through the masses, transform them to the core, and render them capable of deeds to which otherwise they can never rise. In the presence of such a ruling minority the masses develop in themselves a tradition of confidence, despite all their liking for public criticism. The best example of the people who have this tradition of confidence in their ruling minority are the English. This confidence breeds acquiescence and acquiescence the belief that the government depends on their will.

Imitation of the creative leaders by the masses is induced only by the charm that emanates from their successful work. Once the rank and file begin to copy them, by so doing, they unconsciously and automatically begin to promote growth. The goal of both the leader and the led becomes identical in spirit, the whole group starts moving towards the same cultural goal, and civilisation begins to radiate all around, enveloping even people beyond the frontiers. The presence of this attraction, this charm, is the mark of growth. Its absence shows

that either growth has not yet begun or it has been arrested.

Cultural development is the core of social growth. But besides this core, life has two other factors which are common between a growing society and a society that is breaking down. These are economic and political. The economic and political periphery of a society which has lost its cultural nucleus may still continue to grow in power, but its growth, bereft of the cultural elements, will indicate the stoppage of true growth. Laying stress on economic and political advance is good, but it cannot by itself guarantee growth.

The minorities to which I have been referring, when made of groups, consist of two sections. The first section is composed of leaders in the sphere of thought—in religion, philosophy, science, literature, fine arts, technology—and the second of experts in the sphere of action—in administration, legislation, judiciary and armed forces. This second section forms the ruling minority. If the first section is marked by uncreativeness, it ceases to exist, for uncreativeness and leadership in thought are contradictories; if the second is uncreative, it changes into a dominant minority, for where ability or rather lack of ability cannot rule, force at least for the time being can. But sooner or later dissensions bred by jealousy arise and, thus weakened, a dominant minority is pulled

down by the masses and it sinks with them. If minorities are creative, they pull up the rank and file and carry them along in their cultural advance. There should be no differences between the creative minority and uncreative majority in such matters as national goals, national habits, national dress and national tongue, as exist in our people today. It is for the creative minority to find ways and means to bridge the gulf that may exist between them and the masses.

Knowledge

What are the chief qualifications of this minority? Before anything else, they must, of course, be a band of intellectual workers. They must be on a higher intellectual plane than the rest of their peoples. Buckle and Lester Ward may have exaggerated the role of the intellect in declaring scientific knowledge as the sole determinant of human progress, yet there is no doubt that without knowledge—revelational or rational—no social growth is possible. The levels of the human mind have at a stroke been raised by the prophets and sages and the physical power of man by inventors and discoverers. It is the intuition or reasoning of exceptional men that remakes the world. For the people that make history, growth of knowledge is essential. It is an indispensable condition of all social progress. But

advancement of knowledge is confined only to the creative minority. To take it down to the masses, its dissemination is equally essential. All backward peoples like us have to discover short-cuts first to mass literacy and then to mass education even to come to the present level of advanced nations. Knowledge is advancing with such great strides that, unless exceptional measures are taken by those who lag behind, they shall always remain behind.

Personal Character

Significance of knowledge for social advance is great, but nations have been made and unmade not by knowledge alone. The creative minority of a people must also be bearers of character. For, unless they are individually men of character, their people as a whole cannot develop a national character.

With the growth of knowledge comes an increasing sense of dominance over nature and social structures. This gives rise to a social attitude which may be carried too far. There is always the danger that mastery over nature may tend people to forget all ideals and values other than knowledge and power; to set up their uncontrolled desires as ultimate goals; to regard their fellow men as objects to be controlled, mastered and used to suit their own whims and moods; and to

use for narrow group interests powers that may be dangerous to the whole of mankind. Hence for the true growth of a society there is need for the development of moral character. Lack of moral character marked the decline and its presence the rise of all great civilisations. When Greek civilisation was declining, Greek intellect was still the highest in the world. Moral character only means the right direction of the will. There are two essentials of it: first, the direction of the will to great ideals and, second, the habit of self-control. Unless the ruling minority shows these characteristics, their intellectual and technical achievements may in the long run prove ruinous for their peoples.

Social approval and disapproval are the best means to promoting the right type of character. Praise and blame of our fellow men, expressed as public opinion, are the most effective incentives to the development of moral character. The ruling minority has a high moral character in a country like England where public opinion is freest. Regard for social approval and disapproval is an essential stage for a still higher stage of morality in which good conduct is considered to be not a virtue but an obligation.

The moral quality which is most actively admired by every people is self-sacrifice. Praise is most actively bestowed upon those who sacrifice their own interests for the interests of the

community. Blame keeps men away from unsocial behaviour and supplements law in harmonising individual interests with those of the group. No less important in the ruling minority are the qualities of uncorruptibility, uprightness, honesty and sincerity which are all summed up in the term "integrity." No misfortune can befall a people who are endowed with moral integrity and the spirit of self-sacrifice.

In every group there are some people for whom praise and blame are not enough. Hence the need for reward and punishment. There are times when certain criminal acts, such as black-marketing, nepotism and corruption, become nation-wide. Being widespread they cannot be curbed by ordinary law. If they are allowed a considerable time, there is the danger of their becoming national habits or national vices. When they become so, they lead the nation to disaster. Hence the enactment of special laws, providing capital punishment for such vices, though in itself an evil, becomes a grave necessity. To make laws universally effective, judiciary and the machinery for selecting public servants have to be made completely independent and kept free from all temptation as they are in the United Kingdom. Retiring Chief Judges and Heads of Public Service Commissions at an advanced age, paying them sufficiently high salaries during service, and barring them from holding any official or even

semi-official paid posts under the State are the steps necessary to keep them immune to corruption and temptation.

Thus allowing public opinion the freedom to praise or blame, making emergency laws to nip widespread social evils in the bud, and keeping the machinery of law and selection above temptation are among the essentials of personal and social moral character and, therefore, among the essentials of progress.

National Character

The qualities of high national or social character are unity, solidarity, stability, liberty, equality, opportunity and security.

Unity may be superficial or real. Superficial unity is produced by control as in all dictatorships. It lasts only as long as the control lasts. Below the surface it breeds the germs of dissension and, therefore, its effect is just the opposite. Real unity may be negative or positive. Negative unity is the unity that exists in a people in moments of extreme tension in the face of strong opposition. Such unity can achieve real ends, but it evaporates as soon as the tension is over. When something positively constructive is to be done, the interests of factions pull in all directions, leaving the nation in a state of chaos. Therefore, negative unity is not a true sign of growth. In our people this unity

appeared before the Partition and began to crumble within seven years of the creation of Pakistan. Positive unity expresses itself in times of peaceful construction. One of the greatest achievements of Islam was to bring positive religious unity to Arabia. The universal belief in one God produced a profound religious sentiment which united the discordant tribes that burst forth from the desert to build a great civilisation. Without this unity the Arabs would not have been able to achieve much. This sentiment need not be only religious. It may be national and associated with the idea of fatherland as in Germany, with motherland as in England and India, with Communism as in Soviet Russia, or with homeland as in Turkey and Iran. In Pakistan the feeling for religion and homeland can both combine to produce a strong sentiment that can lay the foundation of lasting unity.

A strong sentiment, though basic, is yet only one of the many dimensions of group unity. All emotions and sentiments have a tendency to die out with the passage of time, unless occasions are found to replenish them. They are reinforced by another dimension of unity and that is the setting up of goals and the active pursuit of such goals. These goals must not be too general, such as national growth, Islamic revival or world brotherhood. They are too abstract to arouse strong emotions. Nor indeed is philosophising and moralising about these goals of much use, for

these fail to arouse the spirit. National goals are determined from time to time by national needs and the most urgent needs serve as the best goals that can be set before a people to induce unity among them.

Goals are nothing unless they dominate the spirit and thereby determine action. Symbols, slogans and catchwords have "powers of the first rank, stronger even than the pulse of the blood." If they are carefully and sanely used by the ruling minority and are not allowed to slip out of their hands into the hands of parties and factions, they are most conducive to action, leading to the achievement of national goals.

The third dimension of unity is purity or freedom from toxic elements such as class and clan distinctions. Islamic culture is the first to have the credit of fully recognising this dimension and removing all distinctions of colour, class and clan. Islam has shown that a people is a commonly shared experience of the "WE," a unit of the spirit, not of colour, tongue, land, race or tribe, and yet among the Musalmans there are many who have reinstated these idols to worship, and who turn their faces to them, not to Mecca, except when they, parrot-like, repeat their understood prayers. People among whom these distinctions exist cannot have unity in the full sense of the term. They can at best possess it in a crippled form.

Another dimension of unity is willing co-

operation among the individuals and minor groups within a people. Darwin was wrong in regarding struggle for existence as the sole law of evolution. It is indeed a factor in the evolutionary process, but another equally important factor is co-operation. Co-operation within the group is as much a law of social advance as struggle against external environment. Co-operation means combining self-interest with the interests of others and willingly sinking or swimming in a joint endeavour. Only those nations can survive that maintain the most loyal citizenship, the best institutions where men work together, and the largest spirit of self-sacrifice in its members. Voluntary co-operation in cities is comparatively easy. It develops as trade and industry develop. But that is not enough. The countryside must also be brought within its orbit. At the present stage of social evolution, rural enterprise is equally essential for growth. To fight monopolies, producers', consumers' and marketing co-operatives are essential. In rural co-operation an excellent example which may be followed with great profit is that of Sweden.

Solidarity

While unity refers to oneness of a people, solidarity refers to its manyness, but manyness regarded in a certain way. Solidarity signifies the harmony of interests, sympathies, aspirations and

relations among the members of a group and the sentiment of loyalty to the group expressing itself in various emotions shared by all of them. The group which lacks solidarity is the one that is most likely to lose in war. But even solidarity in war is not complete solidarity, because while war develops the habits of obedience, discipline, service and sacrifice in the group as a whole, it often leads to disregard of the rights of other peoples and of the life and personality of individuals within the group. Complete solidarity, as developed by early Islam, will ignore these rights neither in peace nor in war.

Stability

While unity signifies oneness of a people and solidarity the harmony of interrelations, interests and aspirations, stability signifies equilibrium of forces within the group itself and between the group and the neighbouring groups. There are several conditions that make this equilibrium possible. What is required in the first place is one government with sufficient armed forces to enable it to enforce peace and order. The lesson that the breakdown of Hellenic civilisation, the Roman Empire and the Muslim Caliphate has left for us is that no people should allow themselves to be divided into units loosely knit by a weak centre; and the lesson we can draw from the present-day

France is that an over-centralised government can never be stable. Stability lies in the happy mean. The central government may have several units within it, but the centre itself must be strong. The strength of the centre can be ensured by a constitution which makes the Head of the State almost irremovable during his term of office which may not be less than five years, as too many changes are injurious to stability. For a State which is in the lucky position of being able to become a republic and yet is not lucky to have an established democratic tradition as the British have, the American Constitution with provisions for a non-political judiciary would perhaps be more conducive to stability than any other.

The second condition of stability is the diffusion of prosperity, so that there may not be any occasion for envy between different sections of the people. The rich must not be allowed to become very rich and the poor very poor. Communism is having no hold on the American people mainly because the difference between the lowest and highest salaries is lowest there, perhaps 1 to 8, while, if the report is correct, even in Russia it is 1 to 20. In our country it is about 1 to 100.

Again, big estates within the State are detrimental to stability. Historically, States have taken the place of estates and, therefore, in spirit they are antagonistic to each other. In a State which consists of feudal estates, the body of big landlords

displaces the creative minority and the Ganges begins to flow backwards. Monopolistic capitalism is harmful to stability for exactly the same reason. Directly or indirectly, it drives out the creative element in the ruling minority and establishes a mammonish rule.

The third condition of stability is that population must be kept under control so that there may always remain an equilibrium between population and food production.

Lastly, stability depends to a large extent on the provision of health, work, play, and initiative for all. Healthy people alone can work. Indeed they have to be made to work, for without work nothing is achieved. People must be kept busy, but not too busy for their capacity, as are perhaps officers in our Secretariats. Play to recoup energy is essential; and without initiative human beings become machines and lose all living interest in work. Lack of play and initiative breeds inefficiency which is the chief enemy of growth. Stability is the reward of a State which endeavours to see that "none are hungry, where few are ill, where work is pleasant, and not excessive, where kindly feeling is common and where minds released from fear create delight for the eye, ear and heart."

Equality, Liberty, Opportunity and Security

There are three other elements of high social character which stimulate growth. These are

equality, liberty and opportunity. Liberty and opportunity, however, have a tendency to conflict with equality and therefore have to be kept within reasonable limits. Opportunity leads to large-scale industry and trade, developing into monopolistic and semi-monopolistic corporations, resulting in eliminating small business enterprise and widening the gulf between the rich and the poor, as it did in America before the New Deal. This gulf could be bridged only by keeping opportunity within bounds and this is what Roosevelt's policy of intervention successfully achieved. The New Deal inaugurated by him provided for State intervention in and regulation of economic life in order to raise the standard of living and to give economic security to the average man. This was done by such measures as protection to small investors, subsidies to farmers, "floor" on wages, "ceiling" on hours of labour, old-age pension, unemployment insurance and giving trade unions the right of collective bargaining. These measures gave the *laissez-faire* State of U.S.A. the colour of a Welfare State. No democracy can ignore such steps during the course of its industrial development.

Liberty, too, conflicts with equality when it leads to criminal behaviour such as theft, murder, black-marketing, etc., and therefore has to be kept by law within moral bounds.

When a social order is characterised by

solidarity, equality, liberty and opportunity, its individuals and its people as a whole feel a sense of security.

Planning

This brings me to the last condition of social growth which Plato was the first to notice. According to him, progress is possible only through planning, but the overall plan he suggested could not be made effective because of its very impracticability. Effective planning is really a discovery of the scientific age. In the eighteenth century science made rapid advance. The discoveries of science and their application led to marked change in man's material culture. This created the belief that there is no end to the forward movement of man. In the nineteenth century, Darwin's theory of evolution gave great support to this belief. Life was assumed to move ever upward by steady gains towards complexity and perfection. In recent times, however, the appearance of such phenomena as economic cycles, increased tensions between nations and the consequent global wars arising out of the complexity of life, and the destructive possibilities of weapons like the atom and hydrogen bombs, arising out of the rapid advance of science, have shattered the belief in the inevitability of man's upward development. Hence there has been a growing belief

that social progress is possible only by deliberate planning and that lack of planning may even destroy the whole of mankind.

Planning essentially involves control, but control can go to extremes and curb all possible liberty, as it did in Hitler's Germany, and, if reports are correct, it does in the U.S.S.R. Planning is no doubt necessary for the progress of mankind and of individual groups, but its overdoing can destroy some important values, without which true culture it inconceivable. America stands for individual liberty ; Russia stands for totalitarian planning. America allows planning by sufferance ; Russia allows personal liberty by sufferance ; and yet there are certain means to progress which are common to both and, therefore, a new nation like Pakistan can adopt them without running to extremes. Technology of modern industry is the most common feature of both capitalism and collectivism. Everywhere it depends on the findings of scientific knowledge. Everywhere capital investment is required for the production of producers' goods. Everywhere industries flourish because there is a surplus of goods produced over the cost of production. Everywhere precedence is given to producers' goods over consumers' goods and everywhere there is recognition of the relation between incentives like ranks, medals, prizes, and scales of pay on the one hand and skill in different types of labour on the other. A plan of industrial

development which involves in sequence scientific knowledge, capital, producers' goods, surplus of production over costs, incentives to labour, and production and distribution of consumers' goods, is common to all progressive countries. Any change in this sequence or neglect of any link in the chain may prove disastrous to a new nation.

Government agencies in Germany have long been planning and controlling roads, parks, reconstruction on local level, stimulating and regulating large privately-owned industry and making and executing schemes about housing, health insurance and other forms of amenities. In Hilter's time the entire life of the country came under a long-range plan of National Socialism. That planning achieved a great deal in restoring order, in liquidating unemployment, in raising the spirit of the people, but it was fed by war slogans, deportation of the Jews, conditioning of the people by propaganda machinery and regimentation in every sphere of life. Planning in the U.S.S R. has gone even further. That country has planned not only to provide amenities of life for all who work and to change social relations of men, but also to change human nature itself. Under this planning, industry has made great strides, there has been extension in literacy (about 80%) and in elementary, technical and higher education; and for food production machine technology has been extensively employed in farming. Such large-scale

planning essentially involves strict control in all spheres of life and, therefore, leaves very little room for freedom of thought and action. In Great Britain, local planning, including public utilities, housing and public health, owes its origin to the Fabians. Although large-scale national planning was put into effect by the Labour Government when it came into power in 1945, three major planned programmes had been taken in hand since 1940. These were based on the Barlow Report on the Distribution of Industrial Population (1940), the Scott Report on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas dealing with the problem of country life (1942), and the famous Beveridge Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services. Besides temporary planning like rationing and control over imports, the Labour Government undertook large-scale planning by introducing National Health Service and nationalisation of the Bank of England, overseas airlines, coal-mining, transport, etc. In U.S.A., which, even more than Great Britain, is the home of democracy and individualism, individual industries are realising more and more the need for co-ordinated planning. Local planning in the country has been confined mostly to streets, water supply, sewage system, parks, buildings, roads, etc. On a national basis, the Report of the Resources Committee, Tennessee Valley Project, proposals of the Missouri Valley Authority, the programmes of Foreign Aid are steps towards national planning

within the framework of democracy. This brief account of planning in some major countries shows that whatever the form of their respective government—democratic, socialistic or communistic—a certain degree of planning is common to them all. The growing complexity of the world has made planning a necessity.

But planning for the material and social betterment of a people is not enough, for that relates only to means. What is even more important is planning for their spiritual advance, for that relates to ends. No progress is really great unless it carries men from means to ends and from ends to higher and yet higher ends.

In this rapid survey of the conditions of social progress, I have attempted to show that without successful response to challenge, creativeness, knowledge, high moral character and planning, no progress is possible. No people who desire to have a respectable existence in the comity of nations, much less to rise to cultural greatness and glory, can afford to ignore them. No effect can be produced without its cause. If the cause is not there, the effect cannot be. This is a truism, but there are times when even truisms have to be told and retold, for some time, perhaps often, it is the most obvious thing that is the most ignored.

Five

National Integration

I. Definitions

1. *Definitions.*—A nation is a body of people of common origin and history, living together in one or more areas of land called the country and all forming a well- or ill-knitted system or structure of traditions, ideas and ideals made electric by feeling and therefore issuing in their will, efforts and actions and apprehended by other nations as belonging only to them. Every system or organisation is composed of diverse parts. If the system is well integrated, "each of its parts must maintain its own identity and each must be related to others so that all may function together smoothly and efficiently." An ill-integrated system is the one which is infested with conflicts and does not function harmoniously and effectively.

National integration may be defined as the end-result of the social processes which tend to harmonise and unify diverse and conflicting units of national life—a process of interaction between groups, associations, departments and classes of a

nation, resulting in reciprocal accommodation and an increased sense of identification with the nation as a whole. For national integration two types of measures are needed. They are either corrective or constructive.

II. Corrective Measures

Corrective measures are directed to the removal of the existing conflicts in society. These conflicts are varied and belong to various spheres of social life. Let us consider them one by one.

2. *Conflicts* within *the Family.*—The most basic conflicts are those of kinship. The kinship system is a powerful and effective mechanism of social integration and control. Kinship is the first system suited to the security of life and functions at times when assistance of others is most needed—at birth, puberty, marriage, aggression from outside, sickness and death. It promotes social solidarity in person-to-person relations and makes the kinship group most effective in the conduct of life. It is the mothers' and sisters' lullabies which most effectively engender in children the love of their home and their country. Family is the first school where mores, customs and sanctions of society are transmitted from generation to generation. The child learns them by example, persuasion and admonition. He grows up into a system of morality largely interpreted by the mother's

judgments of good and bad, right and wrong, expedient and inexpedient, lovable and detestable formed by interactions within the family.

The home has an enormous influence on the development of the personality of the child. When the home is immoral, the situation for the child is worse than if he were separated entirely from his parents. The homes are made most unhealthy by the presence of the epileptic, insane, feeble-minded, drunken and immoral parents and becomes the breeding place of delinquency. Same is the effect of overcrowded homes, where decent privacy is impossible. If the home is disintegrated, the very foundations of society are shaken, the moral attitude and practices of children go wrong, ultimately leading to social disruption.

All chances of such disruption must be minimised and that can be done only by appropriate laws. Our Government has taken a wise step in passing the Family Laws, though much room is left for improvement. Chances of reconciliation should be increased and causes of conflicts removed by inculcating the spirit of give and take and mutual accommodation. The formation of societies should be encouraged to help in this mutual accommodation. In the West, the home is being disrupted with the result that delinquency is increasing at a rapid rate. Luckily in our country, family system is still intact. Here the parents must be encouraged to develop the national

spirit. They will do so of their own accord if they all receive at least elementary education and have their basic needs satisfied. In the case of low income groups, these needs cannot be easily satisfied without family planning, for which our Government is making a laudable effort. Much greater effort is, however, needed in this direction. It should be the duty of all doctors and nurses to render free advice. Statistics of large families should be prepared at regular intervals and more attention paid to the areas which show the highest percentage of large families. *Prima facie*, it can be said that it is the working classes on which attention should be specially concentrated.

3. *Conflicts* between *Families.*—Similar to the conflicts within a family, which break up families and thus disintegrate a nation at its very base, are the feuds between families and families with this difference that the latter last for generations. Sometimes they are rooted in family enmity ; but more often they are caused by group jealousies. Such feuds are the curse of our rural society and are the greatest factor in its disintegration. The conflicts of this type as those of the former can be resolved only by Panchayats, Jirgas or Courts of Elders, to approach which no applications, no court-fees and no lawyers should be needed. It *should be the duty of these courts to be on the look-out for such feuds and to be quick in resolving*

them. Each such court must be assisted by a trained magistrate. The courts which have the lowest feuds within their jurisdiction should receive generous awards from the State.

4. *Conflict of Cultures.*—There are some conflicts which arise from the intermixture of cultures. The people of Pakistan have a culture of their own. It may be called the Indo-Islamic culture, but it is basically Islamic culture. In spite of having a glorious past, it was passing through a period of degeneration, when it began receiving the impact of Western culture. This impact introduced some healthy and some unhealthy elements into the national life of India of which Pakistan is a split-up part, risen to complete nationhood within a few years. In some respects certain elements of Western culture have been assimilated by the native culture of Pakistan ; but it has introduced some very unhealthy conflicts in our national life. These relate chiefly to customs, manners and etiquette. Unless these are removed we cannot claim to be a well-knitted nation.

Of the manners and customs of the West, some, e.g. the scientific spirit, love of work, respect for labour, discipline, unmeddlesomeness, *sprit de corps* and public service, equality before law, equal opportunity in economic activity, education and social status, might be carefully chosen for assimilation, and others, such as night clubs, loose sex relationship, drinking, promiscuous dancing,

gambling in races, teddy dress and bare breasts in colleges and schools and public parties, rejected outright and openly discouraged. These latter either go against clear injunctions of the Qur'an or they are blind copies of the West. If our nation is to be well-defined and made distinct, and kept intact, by obliging everyone by the force of public opinion and/or Government action to identify himself with the nation, then some external signs in customs, manners, a code of rules called etiquette and common dress are necessary.

The conflict between the two cultures, Islamic and Western, is manifest in many other modes of behaviour. The West is individualistic ; we are more bound by family ties. In the West the old and the sick are looked after either by none or by voluntary societies or by the State. In our culture, it is the duty of their sons and daughters to look after them. In the West strangers are nobody's charge ; in our culture, whole communities, e.g. people of a Mohalla, the precincts of a mosque, or a village, take charge of them, if they cannot afford to depend on their own resources. In the West hospitality is shown by arranging accommodition for friends and relations in hotels. We show our hospitality by putting them by in our homes frequently at the expense of our own convenience. Those who have taken to Western ways in these and similar respects are misfits in our society. Here we must preserve our own ways

of behaviour and discourage theirs.

Ultimately the conflict of cultures is due to the conflict of values. If the divergence between the old values and the new ones is not too great, both can exist side by side and are ultimately fused into one. But when it is very great, as it is between the traditional values of our religion and the current values of youth, something has to be done. As a rule the old believe in fidelity, integrity, family loyalty and a degree of restraint on desires; the young believe in money, fine dress and "having a good time," relentlessly pursuing self-interest and flouting all traditional values and religious scruples. Without a fair degree of value integration, smooth working of national life is impossible.

Our schools are divided into schools of European style and Eastern style; the customary dress of the villages is different from that of the people living in towns, and both differ from the dress of the Europeanised Pakistanis. The breed of manners and etiquette which the West has brought to us is different from the native breed. This cultural conflict can be removed only by Government action. When Begum Liaqat Ali started wearing the *gharara*, the entire womanhood amongst the intelligentsia was seen attired in *ghararas*; when Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan began attending informal functions in a bush shirt and English trousers, the entire manhood of the country in

cities followed suit. If the President chooses to dress in shalwar or pyjama and qamees of the same colour with a bush shirt top on informal occasions in summer and with a sherwani added to it in winter, a much larger population both in cities and villages would follow him. This is already the dress of the people of the Frontier, Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab and the higher circles of East Pakistan. It can easily become the universal dress for the nation. On formal occasions the sherwani may be prescribed to be black and the shalwar or pyjama to be white. This is the dress which the President wore when he attended Her Majesty's dinner in London on the occasion of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in 1964. This step, if taken, will alone go a long way to integrating the entire nation. Villagers in some parts of the country might wear *tehband* in working hours, but that will not materially affect our national dress.

5. *Conflict of Local Feelings.*—One of the most disruptive factors in national life is what for want of a better term can be called local feeling. Unfortunately, this factor is quite conspicuous in our social life. The feeling of being Sindhis, Baluchis, Pakhtoons, Punjabis still mars the activities of many. No conflict eats like a canker into the very vitals of social life as this. Unless removed, it can never allow a nation to be truly unified and escape destruction. History supplies

glaring examples of nations infected with strong local feelings and their destructive results. In spite of events like the Persian wars which helped to promote a united front, the intransigence of local feelings and cantonal differences prevented the complete integration of the Greeks into one people. The separate cults of the various cities flourished until the very end of Greek culture.

The fundamentals of our religion, if duly followed, supply the remedy. Islam in its early days almost completly destroyed this feeling. Several noteworthy steps have already been taken by our Government in the right direction. These are (1) unification of small provinces into West Pakistan ; (2) positive and vigorous action in the development of backward areas ; (3) giving due share in the administration of the country to each area; (4) allowing, indeed helping, each area to develop its own culture; (5) giving no quarter to the disruptionists; (6) instituting inter-wing fellowships ; (7) organising inter-wing trips of young people, politicians and educationists ; (8) being extremely patient with a Muslim neighbour that over a decade encouraged this feeling in and beyond our borders and at last winning his friendship; and (9) giving the non-Muslim minorities confidence in their safety and enjoyment of equal rights with the Muslim majority, going to the extent of receiving back with open arms the renegades who allowed themselves to be

enticed by a non-Muslim neighbour. All measures are free from undesirable consequences except (4) if it is carried too far at the expense of full cultural integration.

The most difficult to dissipate is the local feeling in East Pakistan and West Pakistan. It is strongest in East Pakistan. The reason seems to be that East Pakistani Muslim majority has suffered more during the British rule than the West Pakistanis. It is the feeling of being left behind that sometimes becomes strong and bitter local feeling. But the special treatment that East Pakistan is receiving from the Central Government is gradually helping in mitigating this feeling. No doubt, the capital of the State is in West Pakistan, but it has to be only in one of the two provinces ; it could be located neither in both nor between the two, in India. Besides, there are climatic and strategic reasons for its location in the province where it is. The scheme of building a second capital in East Pakistan, though extremely expensive, will remove this cause of complaint.

6. *Class Conflicts.*—In this respect Muslim nations are very lucky. Their religion cuts at the very root of class distinctions. There are no differences of caste, class, colour or creed in Islam. Our State is an Islamic republic because the nation is mostly Muslim. Nevertheless, we have inherited something of a caste system from the Hindus. We have in our midst Ra'is, Shaikhs,

Gakhkhars, Gujars, Pathans, etc. These distinctions do not enter our administration. but they do materially affect our elections and restrict inter-marriages.

The sweepers are considered outcastes by the Muslims in Pakistan as much as by the Hindus in India. Foreign missions are exploiting this situation and the sweepers are being converted to Christianity *en masse*. This question deserves special attention of the Government and the people. They should follow the same methods as are followed by the Christian missionaries, in raising the status of this class. There is no reason why they should not be taught how to remain clean and taken into household service. Under no circumstances should they be treated as untouchables. Unfortunately, in certain parts of our country even Muslim sweepers, called *Musallis*, are treated as untouchables by their Muslim brothers and sisters. Menial work has as much dignity of labour as any other work. Nowadays the Americans and Europeans in Pakistan engage as Ayahs, bearers and cooks non-sweepers only if they cannot get Christian sweepers. They are conscious of the plight of this class and try to ameliorate it in the interest of Christianity.

7. *Conflict between Religious Classes.*—Our nation is lucky that it has a Muslim majority and the minorities, of which the Hindus are the largest group, are protected and given equal rights by the

fundamental principles of Islam. This is not mere theory. Our State has fully demonstrated it in practice. The social life of the minorities is governed by their own religious laws. They enjoy full religious liberty, i.e. liberty of belief, worship, expression, association, education and ceremonials. Therefore, there has been no occasion of conflict between the followers of one religion and another.

In our State the significant religious conflicts are those between the various sects of Islam, the Shi'as, the Sunnis and the Qadianis, which have often given anxiety to the forces of law and order. But the action that is normally taken is enough to control these conflicts.

Nevertheless, some more steps are needed. The Qur'an is the sacred book common to all Muslims and is, therefore, an essential source of unity. The more we emphasise the essential and basic elements of unity in the press, the radio and the school, the better for us.

All differences between the sects basically arise from the Hadith. To reduce these differences to the minimum, the Institute of Islamic Culture is collecting the Hadith literature common to both the Shi'as and the Sunnis to publish it in book-form. When ready, this book would be the first step at working out the fundamental theoretical source of their unity. After this work has been accomplished, it will be necessary to formulate the common principles of jurisprudence (*Fiqh*) for

which measures have been recommended elsewhere in these pages.

8. *Economic Conflicts.*—Next in importance as the cause of national disintegration are economic conflicts—conflicts between producers and consumers. In liberal economy, which is based on the principle of free enterprise, competition, self-interest and the theory that private interest is in the long run in the interest of the public, it is impossible entirely to remove them. Ameliorating measures can, however, be taken by the Government. Even the freest country, U.S.A., has been forced to take such measures in two ways : (1) by organising trade unions both on national and private levels to increase the bargaining power of workers ; (2) by recognising some services, e.g. posts, roads, inter-State highways, canals and railroads, as quasi public and bringing them under Government control ; (3) by breaking monopolies and cartels ; (4) by soil conservation and control of supply by restricting production, thus bringing supply into closer relation to demand and so raising farm prices to parity price; (5) by passing Social Security Act to protect the worker against insecurity, by making payments to certain needy classes, in monthly allowances in the form of unemployment insurance and as old age and survivors' insurance, besides old age assistance, assistance to the blind, assistance to needy children, and assistance to those who do not fall in these categories,

and fixing a ceiling over hours, a floor under wages, and by imposing progressive tax on large incomes and a pay-roll tax on employers, and finally by creating departments and under them bureaus of Employment Security, Old Age, and Survivors' Insurance, Public Assistance, Federal Credit Unions and Children's Bureaus, control of money supply through State and commercial banks.

In U K. such ameliorating measures were first taken by voluntary associations and trusts formed by individuals from philanthropic motives. Such, for example, were Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes founded by Shaftesbury, and Ragged School Unions presided over by him ; Society for Promoting Working Men's Association for which Frederick Denison Maurice actively worked ; Society for the Prevention of Pauperism and Crime and Trade Guild of Learning for adult education of a vocational type formed by Henry Solly ; the East End Juvenile Mission for Care of Friendless and Destitute Children established by Dr. Barnardo ; the East End London Orphan Asylum ; the Asylum for Fatherless Children founded by Andrew Reed. Besides such societies, individual philanthropists established foundations and trusts, e.g. William Akroyd's Educational Foundation, the City Parochial Foundation, the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, the Pilgrims Trusts, the King George's Jubilee Trust and the Nuffield Foundation.

These charitable institutions were not, however, enough to ameliorate the condition of the poor.

Therefore, the State changed its character into a Social Service State, by passing the Education Act of 1870 making elementary education entirely the responsibility of the State, Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 providing pensions at the age of seventy entirely by the State, the National Insurance Act of 1911 providing compulsory contribution against sickness and compulsory insurance for unemployment, the Blind Persons Act of 1920, the Education Act of 1944 and the Family Allowance Act in 1945. By these measures the State has undertaken to see "that irrespective of the means of his parents, every child shall have education fitted to his abilities," that "at all times, of earning and not earning alike, the income of each family shall be enough for its basic needs," that "every sick person irrespective of means shall be able to get the treatment needed to make him well." To these may be added the measures taken by the State after the publication of the Beveridge Report on methods of social advance.

Our nation is not fully industrialised and therefore many questions which face fully developed nations do not face us. Yet even in the present circumstances certain ameliorating measures are necessary and our Government is quite alive to them. Progressive taxation to bring down higher

incomes, control over Auqaf and on money supply through banks have been taken in hand, Trade Unions, the Industrial Disputes Ordinance and Industrial and Commercial Employment and the Social Security Ordinance have been passed in the light of the I.L.O. Conventions and Government policy of the welfare and uplift of the workers. There is a great deal that has yet to be done ; but more social services cannot be undertaken by the Government with its present resources. Nevertheless, what the Government can and should do is that it should persuade big industrialists to undertake social services in various fields and follow Dawood Industries and Bawani and Koh-i-Noor Industries, in creating endowments to improve the financial position of the poor, the needy, the sick, the uneducated and the physically handicapped. It is difficult to make the newly rich philanthropic but voluntary societies like the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam and Darul-Furqan can be created by men belonging to the middle class inspired by human sympathy and compassion with zeal for social welfare.

Briefly stated, these economic conflicts cannot be completely removed, but the gulf between the high incomes and low incomes can be very much narrowed down, by accommodation between the conflicting parties, by philanthropic action and by Government social security measures through proper legislation. This is the only way in which

integration can be achieved in the economic field outside a totalitarian State, but even in a totalitarian State the difference between low incomes and high incomes is considerable. As and when the nation is fully developed and the Government resources improve, more measures can be undertaken for national integration in the economic field by taking over more social services by the State and by further steps taken for integrating the poor, the paupers and the unemployed, the sick, the old and the rest of the incapacitated people, and for bringing about an equilibrium between the conflicting groups. In other words, the economy of the nation has to be gradually changed from liberal economy to welfare economy. We are an Islamic republic, are a nation of the "middle path" and our course lies neither in unadulterated liberal economy which does not go far enough towards social welfare nor in totalitarianism which goes too far in using force and drastic suppression of economic recalcitrance, but in welfare economy which should allow private enterprise strictly directed to national goals. To revive, as far as possible, all economic conflicts, the State must consciously and vigorously aim at complete welfare economy. As H. G. Wells said in 1931, "The present system of production works ominously ; it has to be changed and made to work in a new spirit, if we are to avoid catastrophe. By successive replacements at this

point and that, production for use and large measures of collective buying have to supersede profit production and the incoherent direction of the unorganised purchaser." For the integration of the economic factors conscious direction has to be given both to production and consumption.

9. *Conflict of Laws.*—The law of a nation exercises a deep influence on its behaviour and temper. Like the banks of a river it controls and directs the flow of national life into a unified channel. Its functions are to inculcate in a nation the common spirit of law-abidingness, to encourage and protect the liberty of the subjects, and to establish the supremacy of the judges for the interpretation of the whole law in all cases, whether administrative or civil, whether affecting the power of the executive or the rights of individual citizens. When all are bound by law, the nation acquires mental balance and equality of legal standing of all its members. But the laws are "only brass and tinkling symbols" unless they are actually enforced. Indeed, law is nothing but a command issuing from governmental machinery backed up by a threat of punishment for disobedience. Unless the element of punishment for disobedience is strictly enforced, the law ceases to have the force of law; indeed, it ceases to be law. There is a conflict in the law enacted and the law in practice. The difference between the two must be bridged for real national integration.

The enforcement of law is in the hands of the judiciary, the administration and the police. Corruption in any of these areas makes that bridging impossible.

Independence of judiciary, as in Great Britain, prevents the growth of officialdom that gives officials a privileged position before the law. "When the judiciary is independent, all are equal before the law, and the people imbibe the spirit of law-abidingness, then the nation can be truly said to be under the rule of law."

There is a deeper conflict in laws where these laws arise from two different sources. Unfortunately, this conflict is very acute in Pakistan because most of our laws are based on British jurisprudence, while, as an Islamic State, we are committed to the supremacy of the Islamic law, interpreted, of course, in the light of modern knowledge and changed conditions. Removal of this internal inconsistency in the law of the land is, therefore, a must for our national integration.

Our State is taking some steps in this direction, but they are hardly sufficient. A body consisting of, say, four experts in modern law and four experts in Islamic *Fiqh*, known for their ability to interpret the law, their capability to exercise *ijtihad*, their broadmindedness, their spirit of moderation, their appreciation of changed conditions, and their capacity of research in the light of modern methods of research should be formed

to formulate a unified and internally consistent jurisprudence for the guidance of the legislatures and the Government. These measures can be taken without affecting the status of the present Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology. Indeed, some members can be common to both of these bodies. The Institute of Islamic Culture, of which I am the Academic Director, has a five-year project in view. The project envisages a team of researchers consisting of two competent Oriental scholars interested in *Fiqh* who are already on its staff and two lawyers well versed in the theory of law to be appointed if funds are made available, all working together for five years to prepare a draft of Islamic law.

It is proposed that a similar team should work in the Central Institute of Islamic Research and then both should hold their annual meetings to consolidate their findings.

10. *Conflict between Law and Crime.*—There is a form of opposition to the law which is not political. It is a conflict between the law of the land and the criminal. If the breakers of law are juvenile, they should be sent to reformatories where they should be taught arts and crafts suitable to their respective circumstances. If they are hardened criminals, and the crime is proved, they should be given no quarter and always punished in accordance with the law. Punishment for proved smugglers, black-marketeers, murderers,

adulterators, adulterers and thieves must be well defined and inflicted on them for their wrong-doings according to the laws of Islam. In some quarters there is a great misunderstanding about these punishments, for example, the punishment of the cutting of hands for an act of theft. The punishment is said to be too heavy for a comparatively light crime, but it is forgotten that according to the conditions imposed by the *Fiqh* as understood and enforced during the hey-days of Islam, out of thousands of the so-called cases of theft only one or two fell in the category of theft (*Thaqafat*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, pp. 39-45). Exemplary punishment in the case of these few, if inflicted, will wipe out this crime from the entire State. There are similar misunderstandings about other crimes and the prescribed punishment. For fornication and adultery four eye-witnesses are necessary. Not more than one out of millions will be proved as a perpetrator of this crime judged by this and other conditions, particularly in view of the heavy punishment prescribed for a false charge of this crime. But if this one is given the punishment of eighty stripes, the evil will soon disappear. For all major crimes exemplary punishment given to a few is an object lession for all. Acting on this principle, China wiped out black-marketing by inflicting capital punishment upon just a few.

Many hardened criminals wear a veil of decency and respectability and these are hard to detect.

All efforts, however, should be made by the Government and the people to tear this veil and bring their naked criminality before the nation.

Accommodation is always possible between the law and the criminal in the case of juvenile offenders. In the case of hardened criminals, accommodation between the two is possible only to the extent of giving the offender legal assistance to fight his case, if his resources do not allow him to make his own arrangement for legal help. Beyond this, justice must be allowed to have its course.

Elimination of crime not only lends unity to a nation, but also makes it possible for her to enjoy it in peace.

11. *Conflict between the Rulers and the Ruled.*— In a democracy the rulers belong to the majority party. The minority party or parties form the opposition. The rulers wield supreme power in the State. The danger for them lies in the fact that they are liable to fall victims to self-hypnotism resulting in self-complacency. Against this possibility, they must always be on their guard.

The conflicting party amongst the ruled, the opposition, usually opposes for the sake of opposition or with a view to bringing itself into power ; and for that it picks holes in the administration of the ruling class, some real, some imaginary. Its imagination can be easily curbed without resorting to coercion by placing real facts

and figures before the nation through the legislature, the radio and the press. The course of suppression or oppression is not advisable except in the case of open revolt. By suppressing the opposition by oppression with a view to curing it of its imagining flaws in the administration which are not there, the rulers lose the chance of knowing the flaws which *are* really there. Hence a strong opposition is an important institution of democracy. The best policy for the rulers towards the opposition is an honest endeavour carefully to sift the grain from the chaff and readily take possession of the grain. This means mutual accommodation of the rulers and the ruled. Such accommodation is one of the best sources of national integration.

III. National Goals

12. *Goals.*—We have defined national integration as the end-result of the social processes which tend to harmonise and unify diverse and conflicting units of national life—a process of interaction between groups, associations, departments, classes, and individuals of a nation, resulting in reciprocal accommodation and an increased sense of identification with the nation as a whole.

The elements of a well-integrated nation are on the whole directed to common purposes and goals and its cultural patterns are organised for the

achievement of these goals. Unintegrated nations are oriented in different, even opposite, directions. The latter travel along different roads in pursuit of different ends. Some of these elements take patterns from one culture pattern, some others from another, some contradictory bits from yet another—and the whole becomes a hotch-potch of unco-ordinated parts. The fundamental elements are remnants of primitive tribal life, some have come to us from the Hindus with whom we have lived for almost a millennium, and some we have borrowed from the British who ruled us for longer than a century and a half.

Integration demands that the customs, laws, institutions and associations aiming at common goals be organised together to permit their proper functioning. In order to achieve this end, the population as a whole has to be so trained as to understand and to be emotionally attached to the common social goals ; and individuals and groups are to be so organised that none are inhibited by reasons of being considered outsiders, hangers-on, suppressed persons without status, and not fully participating in the scheme of national organisation.

We have said that for national integration it is essential that the activities of all concerned should be directed to some common goals, for if all or almost all move on the same road they all advance together and the nation is in a state of progressive

equilibrium.

But, what can be these common goals ?

The goals, or rather the goal, of a nation can be said to be social welfare or the common good of the people. But social welfare or common good are very abstract and general terms and it is doubtful whether these can be said to be proper national objectives—whether people at large can understand by them anything at all. By changing one or two words one may say with Thomas Green that common good no doubt needs to be particularised in order to have any power over men. Just as there can be no friendship except towards this or that individual, so there can be no public good which is not localised in some way. In a Muslim State such as ours, one can draw the goals of a group of men from the attributes of God : life, unity, love, truth, beauty, goodness, power, freedom and justice, and these are true goals of man, but even these are too general to be fully understood by the masses of any nation. Such objectives as defence, order, good roads, fighting an epidemic, education, old age pension, full employment, family planning, national health, control of floods, flourishing industry, prosperous agriculture, are objectives fairly intelligible to the people and it is these that have to be projected to them and promoted. No doubt, the term " social welfare " comprises all these goals and many more, yet by itself it is too vague and empty for

an average man and leaves him cold. Our Government is on the right track when it specifies particular services in its Five-Year Plans and does not harp on goals too vague, too general and unintelligible to the people at large.

IV. Constructive Measures

So far we have discussed the corrective measures and national goals for social integration in our present situation. Let us now consider the constructive measures.

The constructive measures for national integration are those which are not expressly directed towards the removal of disintegrating elements of national life, i.e. the conflicts of different types, but positively aim at giving it greater and greater unity. These measures relate to the family, voluntary associations, economy, language, literature, law, government, education and religion.

13. *The Family.*—The indispensable functions of a family are genetic and socio-psychological. If these decay, the family is doomed. If they continue to exist, the family will continue.

Besides these, there are four secondary functions. These are economic, religious, educational and medical.

The genetic function is not mere satisfaction of the sex impulse and the production of offsprings. It also includes the care, nourishment, protection

and training of children. These varied duties can be performed only by a family which is not only free from all conflicts, but is also devoted to some positive activities.

The socio-psychological function develops in the members of the family by mutual love and the urge to protect and help one another. It also develops religious habits and attitudes in children.

The activities of the elder members of the family require that they should possess the necessary knowledge of the methods of the children's bringing up, have at least elementary education to impart its contents to them, for there is much a child can learn from his parents, brothers and sisters. The little children's needs can be fully met only by the parents, even where some of these are cared for by the State. Besides, to keep the children healthy, the elders must know at least a little of First Aid and nursing. And this is not possible unless they have at least primary education.

Family life in our nation, particularly in rural areas, has not yet developed enough to discharge all these functions well. The Institute of Islamic Culture has started preparing small booklets written in very easy language for the village folk. One such tract has already been published but unless millions of copies of such tracts are purchased by the Government and freely circulated in the villages, not much positive gain can

be expected. If twenty copies of each tract are distributed in each village, one million copies of ten tracts will be needed for the entire country. These can be sold by the Government through Basic Democracies at, say, twelve paisa per copy. Free distribution of twenty copies of each of the ten tracts in the whole country to each of the far-flung villages will cost the Government only ten lacs of rupees, which is not a prohibitive sum for the immeasurable benefits it can bring to the most neglected and yet the most important and the largest section of the nation, particularly when it is spread over, say, five years.

Fortunately, our family life is still intact. It only needs development on the lines suggested. But in the West it is decaying. As the writers of the *Preface to the Social Sciences* observe, " Many of the functions of the family have become weakened and some have almost disappeared, and naturally the decay of functions is followed by a decay of structure." Speaking of the youth of America, they say, " The careful chapronage of parents and grandparents is almost extinct and the young people are set adrift to sink or swim. Most significant of all, the well-established standards of conduct and the familiar *mores* have decayed and died. Young people today have few props on which to lean." The pleasures of family relationships are fast disappearing and their place is being taken by the cinema, sex promiscuity, dance

halls, night clubs and consequently absence from the home for long periods. These have a deadening effect on the psychological functions of the family. Carl C. Zimmermann, in his works, *Family and Civilization*, *The Family of Tomorrow*, and *The Cultural Crisis and the Way Out*, has predicted that the family as known today will disappear, and has expressed the fear that the atomistic trend may continue until it reaches a disastrous end.

Most unfortunately, our own young men and women coming out of colleges are following the youth of the West in these tendencies and, since educated boys and girls set a model for others, the disease is rapidly spreading. For the spread of it the parents are themselves partly responsible, for they go half way towards these family-disintegrating activities themselves ; their sons and daughters go the whole hog.

Religious education properly imparted, not the way it is done in our country today, can be used to cure this trend, but parental control particularly by those high up in society is essential.

Another measure that is essential for the health of family life is legislation to prevent the marriage of those suffering from some hereditary defect, feeble-mindedness or some contracted venereal disease. Medical certificate from a competent doctor should be made compulsory by law for all marriages. But since some doctors are likely to

give a certificate of health even to those who do not deserve it, the law must provide, as done in some states of America, that a physician guilty of such conduct shall be punished and have his licence to practise revoked. A similar law is necessary in the case of drinking on the ground of health. As drinking is not a common habit in our nation, though very common among a certain class, there should be no difficulty in enforcing the suggested law; but law about a certificate of health is not possible until a doctor is available to every village within a reasonable distance.

14. *Voluntary Associations.*—After the familial measures the foremost duty of the people is to form voluntary associations for more particular objectives. Some of the societies formed in Great Britain for the correction of disintegrating conditions have been listed before. Similar societies were formed there during the last two centuries for corrective-cum-constructive work. For example, George Williams established the Young Mens' Christian Association for winning over the young for religion (of course, Christianity in this case). William Booth started the Salvation Army for the purification of souls on the basis of Christian principles of love and service. Emma Cons created a hostel for girls, and coffee taverns and Old Vic as places where "the best were brought within the reach of the poor." Thomas Rhodes Armitage founded the British and Foreign

Association for Promoting the Education of the Blind. Baden-Powell founded the Boy Scouts and, with his sister's help, the Girl Guides.

Our Government is already encouraging such institutions as the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. But our religious leaders who consider themselves the custodians of people's souls have created no association which may exert at least a countrywide if not a worldwide influence on some elements of social betterment. A few orphanages have been established by private charity, but, with the exception of a very few of them, they benefit the management more than the orphans. There is only one voluntany society in the country doing good work for convalescent womenfolk.

The Pakistan Government has also created a few institutions for the welfare of the blind and the deaf and dumb, but for a vast country like ours, they are too few. More funds ought to be spared both by the Government and the public towards such activities of national welfare. The more of the sick, the blind, the deaf and dumb, the orphans, the sick and the helpless are enabled by the nation to become its active and worthy members, the greater will be its united strength.

We should by voluntary effort create housing societies for the homeless, societies for slum clearing, societies for promoting agriculture or horticulture, societies for the promotion of literature (like the Halqa-i-Arbab-i-Zauq of Lahore),

the consumers' co-operative societies, parent-teacher societies, societies for the promotion of sciences, religion or education (like the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam), societies for cookery, fine arts, mutual protection, sports and games, societies for the checking of social abuses, and societies for a host of other national welfare activities. Such societies can be created by persons who have zest and love for others. The assimilative interaction of such associations is an important source of national integration. Taken alone these associations are small units having limited objectives, but they are all knit together by the invisible thread of brotherliness and their united whole, like a constellation in the firmament, sheds its tender light all around ennobling the life of the whole nation.

Not all associations are, however, of this nature. There may be some which are not legal and have to be discouraged, such as associations of producers in combination to control supply or competition over a wide area, monopolistic associations and secret associations for such crimes as smuggling, child- or cattle-lifting, and associations for establishing houses of ill repute. It is the duty of the State to crush these by the iron hands of law.

Some associations conflict with one another; such, for example, are the producers' associations and labour unions. It is for the State to act as an

umpire, if each of the conflicting associations is devoted to some work of national importance. Those which discharge their functions well may be left to themselves. But the State must intervene to protect an association's interests and the interests of its members if and when it abuses its powers.

Incentives should be provided hy the State for the creation of healthy associations. Prizes, medals and honours may be awarded to those associations which do their work best in competition with others. Some people are naturally well-disposed to do social work in association but are too lazy to take an initiative. In such cases a whisper from a dignitary of the State can do the trick. Our State is not forgetful of this duty, but a more vigorous effort is needed.

15. *Economy.*—Our nation, like any other nation, can be economically classified into these classes : (1) the indigent, (2) the very poor, (3) the poor, (4) the lower middle class, (5) the upper middle class, (6) the rich and (7) the very rich. In a developing country, where industry is fast growing, the prices are bound to rise and economic equilibrium is bound to be disturbed if incomes of the first five classes do not proportionately rise.

Salaries and wages have to be adjusted not to let the people's real income deteriorate. The amelioration of the financial condition of these five classes needs immediate attention. Comparative

statistics should be periodically prepared in this connection.

The State has taken a very good step in the form of land reforms. The full impact of these reforms on incomes shall not, however, be appreciable within two decades. The large holdings have been recently divided into the members of the families only nominally. Today their management and income are practically still in one hand and under one management, but when the present heads of families pass away, the holdings will be *really* divided and the healthy effect of the land reforms will appear. The policy of reducing the difference between the higher and lower incomes is economically sound and socially conducive to national unity.

The steps the Government has taken for advancing loans for house-building is a measure which, to a certain extent, will help in solving the housing problems, provided these loans are given more to the poor and lower middle classes than to the higher middle, the rich and the very rich classes.

In all Welfare States the interest on loans for house-building is very nominal. It is from 1.2 to 2.5% and the loan is recoverable in twenty-five to one hundred years (*Freedom and Welfare* edited by George E. Nelson, 1953). The loan given by the State or a non-profit housing association or a co-operative in

an Islamic State should be given on similar terms. The motive behind such loans should not be profit, but help to the shelterless.

In a progressive society periodical readjustment is necessary in the three chief economic fields—industry, labour and farm—in order to ensure steady integration and a dynamic equilibrium in national life.

Modern economic life depends upon the division of labour and co-operation which are the two principles which regulate social interaction and social advance. Every society regulates the ways in which its members divide responsibilities and combine to perform a given function. These principles work more particularly and extensively in the field of economic life. Division of labour creates a feeling of interdependence. The greater the number of persons who are conscious of this interdependence, the more are they conscious of their internal unity with the gigantic entity called the nation. Competition is the third principle that operates in this field but its operation has to be carefully watched. Excessive stress on it in a culture can lead more to disintegration than to integration. Competing members or associations of a nation are primarily concerned with their own gain rather than with the welfare of their group. "Enlightened self-interest" is after all *self-interest* and not in any sense interest of the nation as a whole.

The measures taken by our Government in the economic field are all steps in the right direction. They need more rationalised and accelerated movement in the same direction.

16. *Language.*—Our nation has succeeded in having a well-defined home—a geographical location through its own united voice under the leadership of the Qaid-i-Azam. It is unfortunate that it consists of two parts separated from each other by a thousand miles of Indian territory, speaking different languages, having different scripts and, to a certain extent, different literary heritage. To knit these two parts of the country together is a very difficult task, but given the will it is not an impossible one. There is a vast area of literature—Islamic literature—which is common to both. This common area is further extended by the identity of goals and values, which are not only Islamic, but also universal. Since religion is the foundation of our cultures, the two cultures are also identical in spirit and in *mores*, traditions and customs. To these can be added political unity to offset the geographical handicap. The other two handicaps are those of language and script.

Community of language is such an important source of national integration that many sociologists have included it in the very definition of a nation. Unfortunately in our situation that has become impossible. The President has suggested

in one of his recent speeches that if we cannot have the unity of languages we can at least have the unity of script which could bring the two State languages closer together in due course. The script suggested by him is Arabic. This indeed is the script in which the Holy Qur'an and almost the whole of Islamic literature is written. For every Muslim, whether he lives in East Pakistan or West Pakistan, knowledge of this script is indispensable for the study of the Qur'an, Hadith, Islamic jurisprudence, philosophy and the whole wealth of Muslim literary heritage. The adoption of this script would save our children the trouble of learning the present Bengali or Urdu scripts. When East and West Pakistanis read each other's literature and the common literature of their religion, they would begin to understand each other's language, and in course of time there can appear, by unconscious blending of the two, a single national language of Pakistan. This unity of the script could go a long way towards national integration, but, strangely enough, from within the Cabinet a note of protest against it has been sounded. It is a strange irony that the Muslims of East Pakistan who are more religious and politically more awakened than the West Pakistanis should yet be the loudest in their protest against the Arabic script. Our brethren in East Pakistan are very emotional, and to be emotional is not a bad thing, but emotion should never be

allowed to get the better of reason, especially in matters of supreme national importance. How long will English, a foreign tongue, remain the sole means of communication between the two wings of Pakistan ? The study of English would always be necessary for us for other reasons, but certainly it should not be the sole medium of communication between us. It can serve as the medium for less than five per cent of the population. More than ninety-five per cent of the people living in each wing have no means of knowing and understanding each other. Can a people, one-half of whom cannot know the ideas, feelings, motives, desires and hopes of the other half, be called one nation? This situation is most appalling. It must be changed and its change be given the very first priority.

Apart from introducing a common script, every West Pakistani child must be made to learn Bengali and likewise every East Pakistani child be made to learn Urdu. This will bring at least the literature of each wing to be understood and appreciated by the other and thus the dark abyss dividing the nation into two will be easily bridged. This one change in our system of education will do wonders in the integration of the nation.

17. *Literature.*—Every nation takes pride in its national assets, its national monuments and achievements of its heroes, statesmen, artists, inventors, social workers and thinkers. For every

British child Britain stands for the undulating land of green pastures studded with silvery lakes and surrounded by sea, for monuments like St. Paul, Westminster Abbey, the Houses of Parliament, and old chapels, castles and mansions, for heroes like Nelson and Wellingdon, for statesmen like Walpole, James, William Pitt and Peal, for painters like Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Lawrence and Turner, for inventors like Stephenson, James Watt and Joule, and for social workers like Shaftesbury and Florence Nightingale. It stands for him also and, perhaps more so, for the land of literary geniuses like Walter Scott, Dickens, Milton, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley and Keats, and for scientists like Bacon, Harvey, Newton, Dalton, Faraday and Maxwell.

What is true of the British is equally true of all other nations. We as Pakistanis can well be proud of the bounties that Nature has bestowed upon us. Ours is a land of mountains and valleys, rivers, lakes and meadows. It is a land of milk and honey. On the neighbouring seas float our ships and barges. Our fields of jute, paddy, wheat, and corn delight the eye and their yield is worth more than gold. Although most of our world-famous monuments we had to leave behind in India, we still have the ruins of the ancient cities of Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, Taxila, Mansamati, which speak of great civilisations preceding ours, the influence of which runs through our veins

rather than through our customs and mores. We still have beautiful gardens, magnificent mosques, lofty citadels, and high mausoleums of our great kings and saints reminding us of the grandeur and glory of our medieval past. Our present is only sixteen years old. The first few years were spent on adjustment or maladjustment to the new situation. During the last five years we have surprised the world by our progress in several fields of national life and we have been designated as a "developing nation." Our armed forces and air services are among the best in the world. The founder of our nation, Qaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, is sure to be recorded in history as one of the greatest statesmen of the world. And who knows how many others now working for the welfare and glory of the nation will leave an indelible mark on history. Given another twenty years, God willing, we shall be considered by all a fully developed country, occupying a high position in the comity of nations.

Let us come to our literature. As a *natonality* we have produced men of letters and science by the hundreds during our history of fourteen hundred years and that is why our pride in the intellectual achievements of our nationality is greater than that of any other nationality. We are thoroughly *nationality*-minded.

How we wish we were equally nation-minded and our pride in the intellectual achievements of

our own nation were equally great! Our international sensitivity has left our sense of nationhood blunt which indeed should not be the case. We can well be proud of our gifts of Nature, our national heritage and the achievements of our nationals in different fields. As to education and science, our poet Iqbal is one of the greatest poets the world has seen. Which other nation has produced in the twentieth century a greater poet-philosopher than him? Have not his works been translated in many languages of the world—some by professors of the world's greatest universities? Has not Faiz received recognition even in the U.S.S.R.? Has not Nazrul Islam sung soul-stirring songs of extreme beauty? Is not Salam recognised as one of the topmost mathematicians of the British Commonwealth? Has not Saleemuzzaman's claim as the discoverer of the active elements in Rauwolfia-serpentina been recognised abroad? Have not we brought out a classic on Islamic ideology. Has not Pakistan produced what no nation, Eastern or Western, could produce during the last six hundred years, a comprehensive history of Muslim thought? Have we not written a monumental history of our own Freedom Movement? Have we not published a history of Indonesia, a history of Islam in Africa and a history of the Fatimid Empire? Are we not bringing out works on different aspects of our religion by the dozens every year? Have not we

undertaken such long-term projects as the production of an encyclopedia of Islam in Urdu? Are not hundreds of journals published in our country fed by the pen of our budding scholars? Let us be fully nation-conscious. Lack of this consciousness must be remedied, and it can be remedied only if we begin to realise our own achievements, and be appreciative rather than over-critical of our own leadership.

18. *Law.*—H. Kelson holds that a legal system is a normative hierarchy in which the creator of one norm—the lower one—is determined by another—the higher—the creation of which is determined by a still higher norm and "the regressus is determined by a highest, the basic norm, which, being the supreme means of validity of the whole legal order, constitutes its unity" (*General Theory of Law and State*, 1945, p. 124). But he fails to answer the question: "Whence comes the validity of the basic norm?" except by saying that the question is unanswerable. But for us Muslims, it is not unanswerable. We would agree with Austin that the validity of the basic law arises from the authority of the sovereign, but in answering the question: "Whence comes the authority of the sovereign?" Austin falls into a vicious circle when he says that it comes "from the law." Goodhart escapes this vicious circle by maintaining that the authority comes from the moral principles. For us the authority of the

sovereign comes from the Sovereign of the universe, for all sovereignty ultimately belongs to Him. From the authority of God follows the authority of the moral principles (life, unity, truth, beauty, goodness, love, justice, liberty, equality, fraternity, discipline, happiness and peace) from which follows the obligatoriness of the basic laws. The basic laws or the principles of Islamic jurisprudence may be enumerated as follows:

(*i*) Sovereignty belongs to God and command ultimately rests with none but Him.

(*ii*) The law enunciated by the Qur'an is the supreme law.

(*iii*) Authentic traditions of the Prophet must be obeyed.

(*iv*) Where the Qur'an and the Hadith are not helpful, laws should be formulated on the basis of analogy.

(*v*) Where neither the Qur'an nor the Hadith nor analogy are helpful, laws should be framed and decisions taken in consultation with those who serve God truthfully (by *ijma'*).

(*vi*) If no unanimity is available under (*v*), a law or a decision should be based on the judgment of the supreme legal authority.

(*vii*) God's vicegerency belongs to the people.

(*viii*) Everyone from the Head of the State to the humblest man is equal before law.

(*ix*) The law is binding upon all.

(*x*) Obedience to those who are charged with authority is enjoined whether one likes it or not.

(*xi*) The authority that commands what is against the command of God is not to be obeyed.

(*xii*) In no case, however, is revolt allowed (Qur'an, xvi. 90 ; Bukhari, xciii, 2).

(*xiii*) Posts under Government must go to those who are worthy of them.

(*xiv*) In all disputes between people justice should prevail.

(*xv*) The honour, life and property of another individual is sacred, interference with which is a major crime.

(*xvi*) Treason, murder, robbery and theft, adultery and the allegation of adultery are major crimes, the punishment for which is prescribed.

(*xvii*) All contracts are sacred ; they must be fulfilled.

(*xviii*) It is the right and duty of everyone to check the occurrence of a wrong in whatever way it is possible under the circumtances—by deed, by word, or at least by contempt.

(*xix*) All non-Muslims have complete liberty of religious belief and practice and protection of their religious rites and holy places.

(*xx*) All non-Muslims have the right to get their cases decided according to their own religious laws provided they do not violate the elementary human rights.

(*xxi*) Women shall enjoy the same fundamental rights as men, including the possession of property, their dowry, gifts, *Mehar* and their own earnings.

(*xxii*) Everyone has the right of private as well as legal defence.

From these laws follows the authority of the laws of a secondary order and, from that, of the tertiary order in a descending scale. There is, however, one principle which governs all the above laws of Islamic jurisprudence. That is the principle that reason should be used for the interpretation and application of these laws and for the formulation of any particular law of a lower order.

The integration of laws under this Islamic plan would be one of the major sources of national integration.

19. *Government.*—The basic Islamic principles for the governance of a State may be formulated as follows:

(*i*) A Muslim State is a democracy, i.e. a State which, directly or indirectly, elects its own Head.

(*ii*) It is essentially a Welfare State.

(*iii*) The State is a trust of God and every

dignitary of the State, as everyone else, is answerable to God for the welfare of those under his charge.

(*iv*) The State treasury, like the State itself, is a trust in the hands of the ruler.

(*v*) It is the duty of the State to prevent evil and advance all that is good.

(*vi*) It shall be the duty of the State to establish justice in the land.

(*vii*) It must consider all human beings as equals without any discrimination of race, caste, colour, tongue or creed.

(*viii*) It must not tax a citizen, Muslim or non-Muslim, beyond his capacity and help from the exchequer those who are incapable of earning.

(*ix*) It should give freedom of trade to its citizens, but forbid speculation and cornering of commodities.

(*x*) It must levy a tax on the wealth of Muslims to be spent on specific purposes.

(*xi*) Non-Muslims who do not serve in the armed forces of the State must be protected by the State in lieu of a small tax.

(*xii*) The interpretation of its constitution and its laws must be only in the hands of experts in the judiciary.

(*xiii*) It must equitably divide the property of a deceased person among his or her relatives according to the prescribed law and

should forbid joint family system and prevent uneconomic holdings.

The Islamic principles to guide foreign policy are these :

(*i*) An Islamic State should try to enter into treaties with other States for creating conditions of peace for itself and for others.

(*ii*) It must abide by those treaties even if they are not satisfactory on all accounts.

(*iii*) All efforts should be made by it to secure peace in international disputes by mediating for reconciliation, but if one party becomes aggressive or remains recalcitrant, it should side with the aggrieved party and join hands with it in suppressing the aggression or in forcing a just decision.

The whole world knows that our Government is strictly following these principles.

Despite the fact that even dictatorships of today call themselves democracies, a true democratic Government has come to mean a Government consisting of a legislative body, a body of administrators and a body of judges called the judiciary, all three holding powers within their respective spheres and each setting a limit to the power of the others to establish an equilibrium. It is the duty of the Head of the State to see that this equilibrium is never upset.

The relation between a Government and the smaller groups within its territory is that of a whole with its parts. Normally the individuals forming a large group divide themselves into sub-groups. If a group or a sub-group be called an association, having a special regard to the needs of its own members or of those for whom it has a special concern, the nation as a whole would be a multipurpose association functioning as a State to look after the interests of everyone in its territory. Although all associations have some set of rules the enforcement of which exercises some coercion on its members, the coercive force of the State has to be supreme, for its ambit is widest and it has to resolve conflicts between individuals and individuals and associations and associations. It has to deal impartially with competing sectional claims. The Government is therefore in the position of an umpire equally committed to all within its jurisdiction in dealing with their conflicting claims. Besides, there are some interests which all individuals and all well- or ill-associated groups have in common. These interests cannot be promoted without State co-ordination, guidance and guarantee.

If we are right in assigning arbitral function to the State, then in supporting the claims of others against the claims of one associated group, the Government must persuade that group to believe that it has been impartial in doing so.

It also follows that the State should never allow itself to fall in the hands of men concerned mainly with the interests of one limited group, say, that of the industrialists, the agriculturists or the labourers. This rule of impartiality is not only a guide to policy but also a basic principle of morality.

In a democracy—and ours is a democratic State—the State must guarantee the liberty of the press, i.e. the liberty or the security with which everyone may be able to make known his complaints, and the liberty of public association, i.e. the security with which the discontented sharing a common sentiment may be able to make their plans for opposition, short of the breach of peace and actual revolt.

The coercive power of the State depends on the authority behind it and this authority behind it is that of the constitution. Loyalty to this authority is above the loyalty to any association. Nevertheless, the authority of the Government as an umpire will prevail only if it takes account of the claims of other great associations wielding authority within their own limited spheres. Their goodwill it must always endeavour to earn.

There are two ways open to a Government to meet undesirable situations within the State. These are (1) persuasion and (2) use of coercive force. There is, however, a limit to both persuasion and coercion. Persuasion is not always effective.

All people know that drinking and smoking are bad for health, yet they cannot be persuaded to give them up. The use of coercive force may sometimes be too costly or too inconvenient. When the case is so, persuasion through education remains the only solution. Sometimes both persuasive and coercive measures may have to be used simultaneously, e.g. in educating people in road traffic and also enforcing the traffic rules at one and the same time. One thing is, however, very clear that coercion is not possible if the coercive measure is not supported by a majority of the people, for sovereignty ultimately belongs to God and then to His vicegerents, the people, who, in a democratic State, transfer it to the Government by giving it a constitution.

Too much control, i.e. rigid control enforced by repression of the ideas and actions of individuals and minorities, imperils some values which must be preserved and sacrificed only when the welfare of the State is gravely threatened as in times of emergency and war. Values like freedom of expression and action guaranteed by civil liberties should remain unhampered to the greatest degree consistent with social integrity. Progress depends on new ideas and new experiments: therefore these also should be given free play. Preference over the use of force should in any case be given to free decision, deliberation and working out of compromises to effect reconciliation.

To prevent recalcitrance, incorruptibility of the judiciary, police integrity and the establishment of proper schools and reformatories are essential. They minimise occasions for the use of coercion by force.

Of course, in the actual cases of recalcitrance or revolt, the use of coercive force is the only course left and that power is implied in the sovereignty of the State.

The chances of disintegration decrease to the extent to which a Government succeeds in conquering distance, climate, natural calamities, hunger, exploitation, crime, disease and the love of the people. It is, therefore, the function of a Government to make these conquests to the fullest extent, but that is possible only if the goodwill of the people goes with it.

20. *Education.*—By the time a child goes to school, he has already gone far along the road of adapting himself happily to the requirements of civilisation or towards adjustability or inadjustability to his social environment. Hence the great importance of the right type of pre-school education. Education at this stage, however, presupposes parents not only educated in a general way but equipped with a certain body of training and information. To this equipment, attention has been drawn in the section on Family Conflicts and some measures have been suggested in a small way as the absolute minimum requirement. It has

been proposed there that simple tracts should be published in very easy and clear language formulating a body of principles simple enough to be understood and applied by the common folk and distributed free of cost in the whole country. In Urdu they can be prepared by the Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, and translated into Bengali by special arrangements, if funds are provided.

Side by side, there should be a deliberate drive for speedy progress towards free and universal primary education for children, and, on the principle of one educated person teaching one uneducated one, towards adult education. Thus, both the educated individuals and the State must make education after the pre-school stage as one of their main objectives. The system of education embracing the entire population is one of the main influences in associated or integrated living.

In a democracy the people are the masters and, if uneducated, they are uneducated and uncouth masters from whom no wise decision and integrating action can be expected. Education may be conceived in two ways: (1) as the development of intellectual faculties and (2) as the development of practical wisdom. Both aspects of education are necessary. But while the first can be imparted by teachers through books, the second requires different methods.

For learning wisdom, the students must be

taught to learn to discipline themselves, loyally to work together, to develop a sense of responsibility and to have proper insight into new situations, and the capacity to choose the right course of action, and the will to pursue that course of action. These capabilities are developed through organised games, through living together in hostels, through self-government in academic and extra-academic activities, through practical training in social welfare in field work and through the guidance and *example* of tutors who are not mere teachers in their respective fields of study but, as friends and guides taking the place of wise parents, are in close personal contact with them. That is possible only in residential schools and universities. It is unfortunate that, despite the President's keen desire to have such institutions, we have developed practically none since Independence. A most welcome news has appeared in the press that the President of Pakistan has laid the foundation-stone of a residential university for higher studies on the lines of the Aligarh University in East Pakistan named as the Jahangirnagar Muslim University. The Governor of West Pakistan has also sanctioned funds for a residential school at Manga for school education on the Aligarh School education lines. In any case, no residential university has admitted students so far and this to a very great extent explains the lack of wisdom and *sprit de corps* in

our graduates.

Education affects social integration to the extent to which it is diffused in the nation. The press, the cinema and the radio are now available to be harnessed to intermingle, modify and direct the motives and wills of the millions of men, women and children of whom the nation is composed. They are perhaps the best and most effective means of diffusing ideas extensively. Unfortunately, today in our country, as in many other countries, the cinema is one of the greatest sources of delinquency. Unless *strong* Censor Boards are appointed to ban undesirable pictures, the main effect of which is to excite sex and stimulate amongst the young such activities as murder, theft and robbery, the cinemas cannot be put to proper use. When inspired by national and international motives, the printing press, the cinema and the radio are among the most powerful educative machines that can be used to mould the nation's mind. Without this inspiration they sow the seeds of great evils.

21. *Religion.*—As with all experiences, common religious experience acts as a great cohesive force. This experience, in so far as it impels the association of all who possess it, has three aspects: (1) theoretically, it consists of sacred knowledge; (2) it expresses itself in rites, ceremonials and forms of worship; and (3) in its application it reflects itself in ethical points of

view and moral practices. History of religions bears ample evidence of the sociological influence of religion. By its teaching through competent scholars, it exercises a most powerful influence upon its followers. It binds and unites all those who open their hearts to receive its doctrines. Community of worship further develops their integration. The form of worship and rituals determine the specific character and spirit of a religious organisation and distinguish it from other religious or non-religious organisations. Although antagonism between religious groups often has had disastrous effects on human brotherhood, yet the integrating force of religion far exceeds its destructive force.

Like everything else, religion is also likely to become stale. In order to avoid sterility, to keep its spiritual influence alive, to retain its power of stirring and electrifying the minds and of strengthening the bonds of fellowship, and to keep it abreast of social changes inevitable in a dynamic society, it has continually to be revitalised by fresh interpretations. Among our people, religion, no less than any other social institution, has passed through a long period of stagnation. During this period, our religious leaders lost the spirit and clung to form. They conveyed to the people sacred words in a most uninspiring way and kept their meanings back. They failed to practise what they preached.

Religion under their leadership lost ist soul. From divinely-inspired human beings they changed into cold, rugged fossils lying buried in abysmal darkness.

But this was not the will of God. History took a new turn and shining stars like Shah Waliullah, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Iqbal appeared on the social horizon permanently to guide us by their brilliant light.

Though the fossils have still remained fossils, a surge of life has run through the Muslims of this sub-continent as a whole. Though we are still far from being truly religious, the belief in God that we all share even in our still lingering decadence has given us a land of our own, Pakistan. On this land we have been given the chance of remoulding our lives and regaining our souls. Let our educational system teach us again the meanings of the sacred word, let this word inspire us again to recover our lost souls, and achieve again that spiritual glory which once was ours. We should create new religious teachers—teachers who can guide us on the religio-secular journey to the same old destination through the labyrinth of a most intricate world full of blind alleys. Those who cannot distinguish between a labyrinth and a straight path can hardly be our true guides. We have to re-charter our maps and readjust our masts, and use most delicate compasses to navigate through a stormy sea. Those so-called religious

leaders who cannot distinguish between a calm and a stormy sea can hardly captain our ship to safety.

People often use the words " nationality " and " nation " as synonymous, but we must make a distinction between them. A *nationality* (a *millat*) is a group of peoples well integrated by religious and other ties. A *nation* (a *qaum*) is a smaller group within that larger group which expresses itself in a State. The relation between the two is obviously very close. Nations have been saved from extinction by their nationality. It was in the era of the Greek Church that the Greek nation survived through the Middle Ages and the early centuries of modern history to achieve independence (Earnest Barker, *National Character*, p. 179). Conversely, nationalities have been saved from destruction by nations. After the great destruction of the thirteenth century, our nationality was revived within a century by the establishment of the national States of Turkey, Iran and India.

As Muslims we are a people, a nationality, spread over many countries. The community of religious belief binds all Muslims into a brotherhood. We are happy in one another's happiness and pained by one another's pain.

Our interest in other peoples in our nationality is not, however, confined to a mere feeling of sympathy with our sister Muslim States. The spirit of nationality can express itself in great efforts for inter-State solidarity and co-operation.

In this connection the most praiseworthy action of President Mohammad Ayub Khan, of which the nation can well be proud, is the initiative taken by him in making a proposal which resulted in the Istanbul Pact on Co-operation for Regional Development. This Pact has linked three Muslim countries, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, together by several new ties, and has invited other Muslim nations to join this linkage. Muslim brotherhood is now extending from brotherhood in feeling to brotherhood in action in agreed fields such as communication and transport, trade, tourism, abolition of visas, banking and insurance technology, culture and organisational arrangements. The spirit of nationality is expressed in nationality-mindedness. We are thoroughly nationality-minded—more so than any other nationality.

The national spirit is, however, different from the spirit of internationalism. We have sentiments both national and international, but in their nature these sentiments are different. As Muslims we sympathise with other Muslim nations and indeed with the whole world. We contribute our share of pleasure, pain and purse to international causes, but we live and die with the life and death of our nation. If we and our nation are alive and prosperous, we can be of help to our brethren in other countries—other Muslim peoples—and other human beings in general. But if we and our nation are dead, we cease to be of

any help to others. Nationhood which expresses itself in a National State is therefore prior to nationality. It is prior to the Muslim world at large in its claim on attention and service, just as the realisation of the means to an end is prior in time to the achievement of that end. If our nation is alive and strong, it is a vital part of the Muslim world and a source of its strength. If it is sick or dead, it is either a burden or nothing to that world.

As a nation we are Pakistanis. As Pakistanis we are bound to one another by a hundred silken ties. Our land is confined to a certain area of the world—the area where our dear ancestors are buried and every stone of the monuments built for them is hallowed by their sacred memories, where we have our hearths and homes, where we have felt the pleasures and pangs of life together with our parents, brothers, sisters, cousins, children and friends, and where we have spent our childhood, youth and old age. Its woods and pastures, its rivers and lakes, its lanes and alleys, its hills and valleys, even the pebbles with which we played as children are dear to us. We have deep interest in its industry, commerce and agriculture. We have our own economic and political systems, our own parties and problems, our own flag and national anthem, our own forces to protect us against aggression, our own languages to speak, and our own songs to sing. Our nation is, thus, identical with the State of Pakistan and

distinguished from other nations or States. Both our national welfare and international status depend on the progress and stability of Pakistan.

We have said that religion is a great constitutive element in the life and disposition of a nation. The effects of Islam on the character and traditions of the people of Pakistan, a vast majority of whom have accepted its tenets, is as large as it is obvious. Indeed, the religion of Islam is responsible for the very birth of Pakistan. The destiny of the people of this State is equally bound up with the extent to which they imbibe the spirit of Islam and mould their lives within its moral framework. Their future career as a nation depends on their building their character on the basis of Islamic values. They, as individuals or as a State, can ignore religion only at their own peril. Because we Pakistanis became a nation after a long period of decadence, there are many evils which decadence has left in our character as its heritage. Indeed, they have been increased since our independence, for freedom has increased the chances for self-seeking, and these evils are chiefly related to self-seeking. Preservation of the religious spirit and traditions from below upwards, education and example from above downwards, and the rigid enforcement of law are the only measures which can lift our character. Besides, there is the natural process by which prosperity for a number of generations under favourable cir-

cumstances engenders generosity and selflessness in the character of those whose newly rich ancestors are generally niggardly and selfish. In our own conscious endeavour for the preservation of the religious spirit aided by this natural process lies our hope.

V. National Spirit

22. *National Spirit.*—The universal basis of the national spirit lies in the very nature of man. In every group there is a basis of natural impulses which provides the necessary aid to purposeful action. One of these is the gregarious impulse which unites individuals into a variety of social groups and these into a nation. The second is imitation which by means of suggestion spreads the ideas of original minds and the habits of the higher classes downward throughout the whole nation and is, therefore, helpful in the formation of a common content and a common mode of behaviour, both together called the national tradition. While these impulses are great integrating and stabilising forces and carriers of national tradition down from generation to generation, they can all be great progressive forces as well. It is through these tendencies that the progressive ideas of the Qaid-i-Azam and Iqbal spread like wild fire throughout the Muslim population of India, resulting in the creation of Pakistan and

acceptance of her forceful ideology. At certain levels of our national life, however, belief in this ideology is counteracted by the old habits of laziness, irresponsibility and corruption. This is particularly true of the lower rungs of the ladder of administration. Ultimately, however, it is laxity of control at the upper rungs which is responsible for these obstacles to the full play of the impulses of gtegariousness and imitation for the integration and progress of our nation.

Without the full play of these impulses, the achievement of national unity is an impossible task. A nation cannot be said to be unified unless it has a character and its character is nothing but the sum of its acquired tendencies built upon its natural impulses by its leaders with the active or passive co-operation of the community at large. It is these leaders upon whom depends the purification of our national tradition and the infusion of national feeling. Not only does our community of ideas affect the national spirit, but, conversely, "the intense community of feeling also has an important effect upon our thinking which takes possession of us almost without our realisation. We do not only feel that we are one with the nation ; the nation becomes to us 'an over-person' capable itself of feeling and willing." It is the national spirit which gives birth to patriotism, heroic self-sacrifice and dedication, and these are the virtues that mark the life of a great nation.

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By the Same Author

A History of Muslim Philosophy (Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, W. Germany)

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